

# Beginning of

An historical survey of the attitude of the church  
toward war

## This title was preceded by

A comparative study of the conception of God in Isaiah  
Ben-Amoz and Second Isaiah

## And is continued by

The Christian conception of God

Search by above titles on [archive.org](http://archive.org) to  
continue reading this collection of Pacific  
School of Religion Theses from 1935  
call number Thesis Cage 1935 v.3

Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2025 with funding from  
Graduate Theological Union

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY  
OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH  
TOWARD WAR

by

Lloyd A. Cox

A.B. Chapman College, 1932

THESIS

Submitted in the Department of History of  
Christianity in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Bachelor of  
Divinity in the Pacific School of Religion

1935









## PREFACE

The fundamental purpose of this paper is not to argue for peace. Rather, the purpose is to clearly and exactly trace the development of the pacific conscience. This might be a matter of cold impartial historical study. The whole paper has been attempted in this manner with the sincere purpose of gathering all possible evidence either for or against peace. However, it has been impossible to make this study coolly. The reader will be able to read between the lines and find the feelings of the writer. It has been impossible to keep from feeling disappointed when we have found that the Church has failed to carry on its ideal of peace; and whenever even a dim spark of the ideal of peace appears our heart has been warmed and cheered.

Evidence for and against the idea of peace has been sought with equal diligence. If perhaps we have overlooked some evidence that the Church, at one time or the other, did not support peaceful ideas, it is probably also true that there is additional evidence of the Church's favorable attitude toward peace. In many cases the volume of material has been too great to



present in its totality and we have had to make a selection of typical incidents. In other cases the evidence has been very scarce and we have had to rely upon broad generalizations.

A chronological order has been attempted in all of this material. The whole study has been divided into nine periods or sections in view of making the material more accessible to the reader. A graphic picture of the development of peace <sup>appears in</sup> the Appendices.

Lloyd A. Cox

Pacific School of Religion

Berkeley, California

April 25, 1935





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	iii
Introduction . . . . .	x

## CHAPTER I

## JESUS -- OUR IDEAL AND OUR GUIDE

## A.D. to 30 A.D.

(1) Jesus did not teach in specific instructions but in general principles. (2) Codes versus Principles -- Specific declarations against war will not be found. -- General evidence of Christianity. (3) No cause for Jesus to speak against war -- No compulsory military service. (4) Jesus' teachings will only be found in general principles. (5) Jesus' principle of Love. (6) Principle of Humble Service. (7) Treatment of enemies. -- Jesus' temptation. (8) Jesus commanded Peter to put up his sword. -- General consideration of arguments for war found in the N.T. (10) Jesus and the centurion. (11) The argument from silence. (12) Positive teachings of Jesus. (13) The centurion's religion. -- The payment of taxes. (14) Jesus did not teach in specific situations. (15) Jesus and criminals; -- slavery; -- international relations. (16) Jesus told the disciples to get swords. (17) The disciples misunderstood Jesus. (18) The sword of the spirit. The disciples get swords and use them. (19) The king counting his army. (20) The O. & N.T. -- Soldiers come to John the Baptist. (21) The militarists refer to Moses and the Prophets. (22) Jesus gives a new law.

## CHAPTER II

## THE EVIDENCE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## 30-70 A.D.

(24) Figurative terms used by the apostles. (25) Peace in the N.T. (26) The case of Cornelius and the Phillipian jailer. (27) The world attitude toward religion. -- The argument from silence. -- The Christian feeling toward soldiers. (28) The problem of war in the Christian mind. (29) Conditions of military service. -- The Jewish war of 66-70 A.D.



## CHAPTER III

## THE LATER APOSTOLIC PERIOD

The Development of the Messianic Ideal  
and the Religion About Jesus

70-110 A.D.

(31) The Christian desire for peace. (32) War is not condemned. -- The O.T. writings taken as authoritative. (33) The Messianic hope built around a militaristic idea. (34) Jesus rejects the militaristic element in the Messianic office. -- The religion About Jesus. (35) Rise of the militaristic figure of speech, and its effect upon the attitude of the Christians. (36) Christian feeling toward soldiers.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE POST APOSTOLIC PERIOD

## The First Bud of Peace.

110-180 A.D.

(38) Attitude toward peace;--Dislike for war. (39) Attitude toward wars in the O.T. (40) Decrease of militaristic figures of speech. -- Evidence of Christians refraining from military service. (42) Conditions of military service. (43) Evidence of Christians in the army. (44) Story of the Legio Fulminata. (45) The soldiers fail to see the discord between Christianity and the army. -- Gladiatorial shows. (47) Conclusions.

## CHAPTER V

## THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT THINKERS

180-250 A.D.

(48) Difficult period.--The great thinkers. -- Christian contact with soldiers. (49) Soldiers treat Christians



kindly and protect them. -- Peaceful attitude of Christianity. (50) Attitude toward O.T. wars. -- (51) Divine warfare -- war as Divine providence -- war the instrument of the State. (52) The early Christian's idea of God. -- Attempts to justify war. (53) Acceptance of militarism. (54) Evidence of Christians in the army. (55) The evidence of Origen. (57) Christians giving in to war. (58) The theoretical side of the matter. (59) Exact evidence on the matter. -- Story of Basileides. (60) A Christian soldier who objected to being crowned. -- Evidence from inscriptions. (61) Conclusions on the evidence of Christians in the army. (62) Evidence of Christians refusing military service. (63) Hippolytus' interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. -- Apparent contradiction in the evidence. (64) Objection to Idolatry. -- Canons of Hippolytus and the Egyptian Church-Order. (65) Church-Orders. (66) Conclusions on Church-Orders. -- Evidence of Origen. (67) Origen is misinterpreted. -- Extent of Christians in the army. (68) Conditions of military service. -- Self justification of soldiers. (69) Keen Christian thinkers. -- Gladiatorial Games. (70) Conclusions.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BEGINNING OF COMPROMISE IN THE CHURCH

250-313 A.D.

(72) Exhortations of peace. -- Unfavorable contact with soldiers. (73) Christian attitude toward O.T. -- Militaristic figures of speech. (74) Direct approvals of war. (75) Christians pray for the soldiers. (76) Evidence of Christians in the Imperial armies. (77) Martyrdom of Maximilianus. (78) Story of the Thebian Legion. (80) Persecution of Diocletian. -- Soldier Saints. (82) Story of Cleopatra and St. Varus. (85) Christian soldiers in Constantine's army. (86) Constantine places Christianity in the army. -- Definite figures lacking. (87) Christian aversion to bloodshed. (88) Cyprian and others condemn war. (90) Frequency of cases of Christians in military service. (91) The cases of a few martyrs. -- Story of Maximilianus. (92) Diocletian persecution -- Martyrs in. (93) Real protests of Christians. -- Laymen and not soldiers are the ones that object to war. (94) Gladiatorial games. -- The practice of Christians in this matter. (95) General observations and conclusions.





## CHAPTER VII

## THE LONG NIGHT OF WAR

313-1050

(96) Scarcity of Evidence. -- General conditions. (97) The great compromise. (98) Evidence for peace. (99) Conditions that led up to the compromise of the Church. (100) Position of the clergy. (101) Evidence from the Synod of Arles and the Council of Nicaea. (102) Peacefulness of Christianity recognized by worldly powers. (103) Some pacifism remained in the Church. -- The ruleing of Pope Siricus on Church canons. (104) The Church-Orders. -- Roman Synod of 402. (105-6) The Early Church-Orders. (107) Backward steps of the Church. (108) The change came slowly. -- The end of the military problem. (109) Force as a missionary method. (110) Approval and disapproval of force. (111) Emperors favor Christianity. (112) Petty wars in the dark ages. -- Charles the Great of Charlemagne. (113) The career of Charlemagne. (114) Decline of the Church completed. -- Pope Nicholas I on war. (115) The Feudal system. (116) The organization of the feudal system is complicated.--Pesants and serfs are the basis of the system. (117) Types of service rendered. -- Causes of feudes. (118) War is a part of the feudal system. (119) The Peace of God. (120) The Truce of God. (121) The Cathri. (122) Conclusions.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE BLOODY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

1050-1500

(123) A bloody period of history. -- The Crusades. (124) The People's crusade. -- The First crusade. (125) The Third crusade. -- The death of the crusades. (126) The Children's crusade. -- Moral effect of the crusades. (127) Waldenses. (128) Knighthood in the 13th. century. (130) St. Francis of Assisi and his peace loving movement. (133) The Third Order. (134) Dante on Peace. (135) Pierre du Bois. (137) Raymond Lull. -- John Wycliffe. (139) Wycliffe on the Friars. (141) The Lollards -- Richard II of England -- Conclusions.



## CHAPTER IX

## THE UPWARD TREND OF PEACE

1500-1935

(142) La Casas, Missionary to Mexico. -- Hendrick Nicholas and the Familists. (143) Martin Luther -- for and against war. (147) Ulrich Zwingli -- for war. (148) John Calvin (149) Calvin on Anabaptists. (151) Erasmus, an outstanding pacific thinker. (153) The Great Design of Henry IV of France. (154) Hugo Grotius on "The Rights of War and Peace." (157) George Fox, a strong pacifist. (161) The Bond of Peace in Scotland. (162) The Quaker experiment in peaceful government in America. (164) The Political philosophy of Hobbs in 'De Cive'. (165) The Political philosophy of Spinoza in 'Tractus Politicus'. (167) The organization and practices of the Friends or Quakers. (170) The story of Richard Sellar. (171) The Anabaptists. (172) The Moravians under Count Zinzendorf, and the Lollards. (173) The Waldenses. (174) Jeremy Bentham. (175) Kant's 'Perpetual Peace'. (176) Emerson's Contribution to peace.-- William Lloyd Garrison. (177) John Greenleaf Whittier. (178) Quakers refuse military service in the Civil War. -- Count Leo Tolstoi. (179) A list of outstanding Pacifists. (180) Short history of the peace movement in the 19th. century. (181) Arbitration. -- Unification of the peace movements. (182) Financial support of the Peace movement (183) Revealed conditions of the World War. -- the rise of Christian peace sentiment. (184) Kirby Page gives the feeling of Christian leadership upon war and peace. (185) An article on Militant Church Hymns in the newspaper. (186) A typical Christian peace statement of today. (187) Conclusion.

INDICES  
and  
APPENDICES

Graph of the Peace movement . . . . .	190
Bibliography . . . . .	192
Index of Biblical Passages. . . . .	197
General Index. . . . .	198



## INTRODUCTION

We hear a good deal about peace today. It appears to be a new idea that is arising with our new social conscience. More and more clearly war is being shown in the light of wholesale murder sponsored by a gluttonous few who are willing, either directly or indirectly, to sell the lives of their fellow men for a fabulous profit. Civilization has always considered murder to be the arch offence against society. Too often civilization has looked on and called it good and heroic when this arch-crime of murder has been committed in a collective and wholesale manner. To enter a man's house and kill him is murder; but to enter a man's country and kill him and his countrymen is patriotism.

When one stops to think of it, it does not seem so strange that some people are beginning to think that to kill one's fellow man is perhaps not so patriotic, is not such a great honor, is not quite so heroic. Entering a man's house and killing him is a moral problem. Consistency would seem to demand that it be considered a moral problem also for a man or group of men to enter another man's country and kill him and his countrymen. The only possible difference between these two moral problems is the magnitude of the latter. Perhaps it is this greatness of the problem that has caused us to avoid its consideration these twenty centuries. May we venture here, then, to tackle and study a problem so great that for twenty centuries men have avoided it and covered it with nice sounding words and phrases.

Let us approach it first as a moral problem. The Christian moralists will agree that the foundation of our duty is the will of God, and that His will is to be ascertained from the revelation





which He has made. If this is the case, we ought to look first to our religion for guidance in solving this problem. As Christians in a Christian nation, we should turn directly to Christianity for the solution of this moral problem. For the Christian, the highest revelation that God has given to man is found in the life of Jesus, and it is to Him that we look for our guidance. In Him we have our highest proof and our final answer to the question. We must refer to Him in determining this matter. We admit of no other test of truth. Thus our problem has dissolved itself into that of discovering Jesus' teaching on peace and war. Let us proceed to this undertaking.



## CHAPTER I

## JESUS: OUR IDEAL AND OUR GUIDE

A.D. to 30 A.D.

We do by no means attempt to make a critical examination of the life of Jesus at this time. There are thousands of volumes upon this subject. We must assume that the reader is familiar with the facts about the life of Jesus. The critical conclusions used here are from the best Biblical scholars of the day.

If we were to look in a concordance for Jesus' teachings upon this matter under the word "War", we would find no help one way or another. Jesus did not give specific instructions. His ideas were too great to be given in any specific or pointed manner. His great teachings hold as true today as they did the day He uttered them. If he had said do this or do not do that, He would have long since been forgotten, for His teachings would have been anchored to the specific situations of His day, and His great ideals would have been lost. We must look for His teachings, then, in His great and all inclusive concepts.

"It is a remarkable fact that the laws of the Mosaic dispensation, which confessedly was an imperfect system, were laid down clearly and specifically in the form of an express code; whilst those of that purer religion which Jesus Christ introduced into the world, are only to be found, casually and incidentally scattered, as it were, through a volume -- intermixed with other subjects -- elicited by unconnected events -- delivered at distant periods, and for distant purposes, in narratives, in discourses, in conversations, in letters. Into the final purpose of such an



ordination . . . . it is not our present business to inquire. One important truth, however, results from the fact as it exists:- that those who would form a general estimate of the moral obligations of Christianity, must derive it, not from codes, but from principles; not from a multiplicity of directions in what manner we are to act, but from instructions respecting the motives and dispositions by which all actions are to be regulated.

"It appears, therefore, to follow, that in the inquiry whether war is sanctioned by Christianity, a specific declaration of its decision is not likely to be found. If, then, we be asked for a prohibition of war by Jesus Christ, in the express terms of a command, in the manner in which Thou Shalt Not Kill is directed to murder, we willingly answer that no such prohibition exists:- and it is not necessary to the argument. Even those who would require such a prohibition, are themselves satisfied respecting the obligation of many negative duties, on which there has been no specific decision in the New Testament. They believe that suicide is not lawful. Yet Christianity never forbade it. It can be shown, indeed, by implication and inference, that suicide could not have been allowed, and with this they are satisfied. Yet there is probably in the Christian Scriptures, not a twentieth part of as much indirect evidence against the lawfulness of suicide, as there is against the lawfulness of war. To those who require such a command as 'Thou Shalt Not Engage in War', it is, therefore, sufficient to reply, that they require that which upon this and upon many other subjects, Christianity has not chosen to give.

"We refer, then, first, to the general nature of Christianity, because we think that, if there were no other evidence against the





lawfulness of war, we should possess in that general nature, sufficient proof that it is virtually forbidden.

"That the whole character and spirit of our religion are eminently and peculiarly peaceful, and that it is opposed, in all its principles, to carnage and devastation, cannot be disputed." 1.

We are looking for principles and not codes. Even if we were looking for codes, and if it was the custom of Jesus to teach through specific instructions, we should very likely find none against war, for there would have been no occasion for Him to place such a restriction on the people. None of the Jews with whom Jesus was concerned were engaged in war, and He had no cause to set down a code or law against war.

"There is a certain amount of evidence in the conditions of the time that might be appealed to as explaining His silence and justifying a negative inference from it. The proportion of soldiers to the civilian population of Palestine must have been infinitesimal. In Judaea, apart from a small body of Temple police, the only soldiers would be gentiles in the Roman army. In Galilee, Peraea, Batanaea, etc., were to be found the small armies maintained by the Herodian princes. Jews were legally exempted from service in the Roman army; and there would seem to be no likelihood that any disciple or adherent of Jesus would be impressed against his will into the forces of Antipas or Philippus. . . . . Jews and slaves were legally

---

1. Dymond, pg 52-f. Refer to Bibliography



disqualified from serving in the imperial armies. The government could **he**arly always get as many soldiers as it needed by ordinary methods of enlistment, without making wide use of its powers to compell the unwilling. Such forcible recruiting as did occur took place more and more among the least civilized populations of the Empire. Gentile free -- and freed-men who were Christians would thus **hardly** ever be called upon to serve. The filling up of the Roman legions by means of the dilectus or levy is often alluded to in the history of the Empire; but the number of men available must always have vastly exceeded the number required, and it is therefore only rarely that we hear of any one being conscripted against his will . . . . ." 1.

"But we must remember that teaching may be fairly clear and certain even when it is not in the strict sense explicit; and in any summary of the conditions of the time we must include the burning enmity of the Jews towards Rome, as testified by the existence of the Zealots and by the events, expecially of 66 - 70 A.D. Such a situation might have precipitated a national struggle with Rome at any moment; and it is inconceivable that one believing himself to be the national Messiah, and hoping at least at first for a national adherence to himself, should have had nothing to say in regard to this international crisis." 2.

Whatever Jesus did have to say in regard to this situation will be found only in principle and not in any specific legis-

1. Cadoux, pg 51, & cf note #1, and note #3 to pg 116.  
Refer to Bibliography.

2. Ibid, pg 51.



lation or code. From beginning to end we must look for the great underlying principles of Jesus' teachings.

His first principle is that of Love. In fact this is the essence of Jesus' teachings out of which all else evolves. The greatest commandment is to love God, and the second commandment, to love thy neighbor, is like unto it in greatness. 1. This, Jesus says, is the greatest law upon which every thing else depends. If everyone loved God and loved his fellow man, all problems and strifes of this world would be settled. To love God and love thy neighbor had always been held up as the Jewish ideal, even though it had by no means been carried out. Jesus made the law apply universally rather than in the narrow Jewish sense. One man came to Jesus attempting to justify his actions that were not in keeping with Jesus' ideal of loving thy neighbor. This individual was trying to imply that he did love his neighbor but that some people were not his neighbors and therefore he did not have to love them. Jesus did not leave him in doubt as to just who was his neighbor, for he picked out this man's worst enemy, the Samaritans, and made up a parable in which the Samaritan was the most neighborly. 2. He was shown that his neighbor was not just the man next door, but every man in the world, even his worst enemy. Again Jesus enlarged upon this idea of loving God and man when upon the occasion of the Sermon on the Mount he said: "Ye have

1. Matthew XXII: 36-39. "Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

2. Luke X: 29-37.





heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you;" 1.

Again, He gave them what we know as the golden rule -- a conscientious expression of our love for our fellow man -- which says that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us. 2. How this great and basic teaching of love could ever be found to be compatible with war, let alone sanction it, is far beyond any stretch of the imagination. Love in any and all of its aspects is an ocean of water on the fires of hatred, of anger and of vengeance. What more direct contradiction or prohibition of war could be asked for than Jesus' teachings of the golden rule and of loving our enemies.

Out of this great principle of Love comes a subordinate principle of Humble Service. This is a form of expression of the love Christians hold for others. Jesus frequently enjoined the virtue of humility 3., and condemned arrogance 4.. He went so far as to describe himself as "Lowly in Heart." 5. This principle of Humility and Humble Service that Jesus put forth would do away with all of the motives and emotions that lead up to war.

---

1. Matthew V: 34-35.

2. Matthew VII: 12-f.

3. Matthew XXIII: 12. "And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased; and he that shall humble himself shall be exalted."

4. Matthew VII: 21-23. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

5. Matthew XI: 29. "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."





A third ideal or principle Jesus has given us that carries His great peace-loving principles still farther. This principle concerns man's treatment of his enemies. We are to do away with the old idea of revenge, says Jesus. When smitten on one cheek, turn the other. Or when we are forced to do something, go twice as far or do twice as much as we are forced to do. 1. We find a very definite world outlook in this expression of Jesus' ideal of love and peace. It is to go beyond our own clan, our own nation, our own kind. The Christian ideal of love has to go beyond these limits of race, color, and national brotherhood or no advance is made over the old idea of loving only those who in turn love you. Even the lower orders of society have concern for their own group. But Jesus taught man to go beyond these limits and love people who do not love him. It takes two to have a fight, and it takes two sides to have a war. Jesus knew that if man loved his enemies, there would be no wars, for there would be only one side to this matter of hate and revenge.

We find other evidence of Jesus' ideals of peace. The second of the temptations that come at the outset of Jesus' ministry is held by no small number of the great Biblical critics and scholars to refer to Jesus' rejection of the method of force upon which political and civil authorities naturally rely. 2. These Biblical scholars hold that this is the figurative way in which Jesus told of His inward struggle with the idea of force versus the idea of peace and love. Jesus was struggling with the problem of the use of force -- the armed force of the temporal

---

1. Matthew V: 38-48.

2. Luke IV: 4-8 and Bosworth, pg 77-f., see Bibliography.



and political kingdoms of the world. He emerged victorious in this struggle. He realized that force was doomed to ultimate failure in spite of its apparent success; and that love, which is long-suffering, patient, and kind, though it appeared to be defeated for the moment, would be the ultimate victor. Thus from the very beginning, we find cause to believe that Jesus was opposed to all wars and to all means of force in human life. He lived a life of peace, taught peace, and died for peace. He had a vision of the future in which He saw the futility of the vicious circle of war, and the hatred and destruction that go with it. The world had always had war -- he came to bring peace.

There is a very definite answer to the question of war in Jesus' apocalyptic teachings in which He tells the disciples to flee to the mountains when they see the destruction of Jerusalem about to take place. 1. This passage may be doubtful, but it is consistent with Jesus' teachings of peace and non-resistance. Any clear thinking and far sighted man could have seen ahead and told that it would not be long until the Jews were going to come to blows with the Roman government, and it was not hard to see that war and death and destruction were to follow. It is entirely possible, then, for Jesus to have seen the events of 66 - 70 A.D. before they actually came into being, and to have warned the disciples to keep out of them. If the disciples did not flee, they would have to take part in the war, hatred, and strife, and that was not a part of Jesus' way.

---

1. Matthew XXIV: 15-22.



Another incident at the very close of Jesus' life shows His aversion to force. We recall that Peter drew his sword to defend Jesus in the garden when the multitude had come to take Him; but Jesus told Peter to put up his sword, for all that take the sword will die by the sword. 1. Since the sword was the main implement of warfare at that time, it seems quite possible that Jesus' generalization in regard to the use of the sword was a condemnation of war. If the incident had happened today, Jesus would have told Peter to put up his gun, and we could not very well be a complete follower of Jesus and wage war as we do today.

"Although a general tenor of Christianity, and many of its direct precepts, appear to . . . . condemn and disallow war, it is certain that different conclusions have been formed; and many, who are undoubtedly desirous of performing the duties of Christianity, have failed to perceive that war is unlawful to them.

"In examining the arguments by which war is defended, two important considerations should be borne in mind -- first, that those who urge them, are not simply defending war, they are also defending themselves. If war be wrong, their conduct is wrong; and the desire of self-justification prompts them to give importance to whatever arguments they can advance in its favor. They are attached to it by their earliest habits. They do not examine the question as a philosopher would examine it, to whom the subject was new. Their opinions had already been formed. They are discussing a question which they had already determined.

---

1. Matthew XXVI: 52.





And every man, who is acquainted with the effects of evidence on the mind, knows that under these circumstances a very slender argument in favor of the previous opinions possesses more influence than many great ones against it. Now all this can not be predicated of the advocates of peace; they are opposing the influence of habit -- they are contending against the general prejudice -- they are, perhaps, dismissing their own previous opinions. And I would submit it to the candor of the reader, that these circumstances ought to attach in his mind, suspicion to the validity of the arguments against us." 1.

On one occasion a Centurion came to Jesus and asked him to heal his servant. Jesus made some remark about the faith the man showed and wished others had as much. 2. Those who would find Jesus sanctioning war point to this as evidence that Jesus did consider war to be legitimate. In pausing to look closely at this argument, we find that it breaks down within **itself**. Approval of war is not an inference that Jesus meant to place in this incident. It is entirely an inference on the part of those who are looking for support for their militaristic positions. Cadoux, in speaking of this argument, says, "In the little intercourse that Jesus had with soldiers, we find no hint that He uttered any disapproval of the military calling as such. His record in this respect is somewhat similar to that of John the Baptist. When He was asked by a gentile centurion, in the service of Herodes at Kapharnum, to cure his paralytic servant, He not only granted his request, without (so far as we know)

---

1. Dymond, pg 67-f.

2. Matthew VIII: 5-13.



uttering any sort of disapproval of the man's profession, but even expressed a warm appreciation of his faith in believing, on the analogy of his own military authority, that Jesus could cure the illness at a distance by a simple word of command. . . . .

Seeley sees in the words of Jesus an indication that the analogy of his Church to an army was present to his mind. The centurion, indeed, suggested the analogy between Jesus' power over disease and his own power over his soldiers; but what Jesus approved was not, as Seeley suggests, the officer's humility or his strong sense of 'filling a place in a graduated scale,' but the unquestioning faith in Jesus' power which his bold analogy revealed. . . . .

But apart from the brevity of the narrative, the fact that Jesus was addressing, not an applicant for discipleship, but a gentile stranger who was asking a favour, forbids us to draw, either from his speech or from his silence, any direct inference on the question we are investigating." 1.

The people who hold up this argument of the centurion for support of militarism say that Jesus found no fault with the centurion's profession; that if Jesus had disallowed the military character of this or any man he would have taken this opportunity of censuring it. But instead of censuring him he highly commended the officer saying, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. According to this same logic we might uphold prostitution. On one occasion a woman taken in the very act of adultery, was brought to him, and in very direct words he said that he did not accuse her. One might argue from this that Jesus upheld prostitution

---

1. Cadoux, pg 53-f., refer to Bibliography.



as necessary and good. The whole argument is weak, and really is not an argument at all, as we see in one clear glance.

Jesus did not go about this world as some super-pious person condemning everything and anything he saw that was not just right. That would be too much for any man, especially for one that had as high a standard as did Jesus, for he would be a grouchy old bunch of blue laws. Such was not Jesus' way, as we have already pointed out several times. Jesus taught men to live better, not by don'ts but by do's. In these two cases we have just been paralleling, he did not put a lot of don'ts in front of men, but gave them something positive and constructive for which to live. He enumerated great principles and truths that were to guide not in just one case but in every case that might possibly arise in the complexities of life. we have already noted that in the case before us Jesus was not commenting upon war or peace but upon the great faith of the centurion.

Further considering this matter of Jesus' conversation with the centurion we see that "an obvious weakness in this argument is this; that it is founded, not upon approval, but upon silence. Approbation is indeed expressed, but it is directed, not to his arms, but to his faith; and those who will read the narrative will find that no occasion was given for noticing his profession. He came to Christ, not as a military officer, but simply as a deserving man. A censure of his profession might, undoubtedly, have been pronounced, but it would have been a gratuitous censure, a censure that did not naturally arise out of the case. The objection is in its greatest weight presumptive only, for no one can be supposed to countenance every thing that he does not condemn. To observe





silence in such cases was, indeed, the ordinary practice of Christ. He very seldom interfered with the civil and political institutions of the world. In these institutions there was sufficient wickedness around Him, but some of them, flagitious as they were, he never, on any occasion, even noticed. His mode of condemning and extirpating political vices was by the inculcation of general rules of purity, which, in their eventual and universal application, would reform them all.

"But how happens it that Christ did not notice the centurion's religion? He surely was an idolater. And is there not as good reason for maintaining that Christ approved idolatry, because he did not condemn it, as that he approved war because he did not condemn it? Reasoning from analogy, we should conclude that idolatry was likely to have been noticed rather than war; and it is therefore peculiarly and singularly unapt to bring forward the silence respecting war as an evidence of its lawfulness." 1.

Another argument sometimes advanced to prove that Jesus sanctioned war is that he paid taxes to the Roman government at a time when it was engaged in war and that some of his money went to support the army; thus, supporting the army, he sanctioned war. We have no definite proof that Jesus did pay taxes; such is only a supposition. That is beside the point, however, for on one occasion Jesus very definitely admitted man's obligation to the state in this matter of taxes. 2. If this proves that Jesus sanctioned war it proves entirely too much. "These taxes were thrown into the exchequer of the state, and a part of the money

1. Dymond, pg 68-f.

2. Matthew XXII: 21.





was applied to purposes of a most iniquitous and shocking nature; sometimes probably to the gratification of the emperor's personal vices and to his gladiatorial exhibitions, etc., and certainly to the support of a miserable idolatry. If, therefore, the payment of taxes to such a government proves an approbation of war, it proves an approbation of many other enormities. Moreover, the argument goes too far in relation even to war; for it must necessarily make Christ approve of all the Roman wars, without distinction of their justice or injustice -- of the most ambitious, the most atrocious, and the most aggressive; and these even our objectors will not defend. The payment of tribute by our Lord was accordant with his usual system of avoiding to interfere in the civil or political institutions of the world." 1.

Why, then, are the Christians of today objecting to the civil and political institutions? This may be a question in the minds of some military-minded people. If Jesus did not condemn war nor many of the corrupt practices of his day, should that not be a cue for his followers likewise to leave these matters alone? At the first glance, this seems to be a potent question. There is only one answer to it, and each individual will have to decide the validity of that answer for himself.

The answer to this question has already been given several times. Jesus left the specific situations alone, in most cases, and gave only general teachings and ideals that were so far-reaching as to revolutionize the world and bring it closer to God's love. History abounds with illustrations of the way this leaven of love works itself out in the world, touching matters



that, as far as we know, Jesus never mentioned. For one example, let us trace the evolution of our treatment of prisoners and criminals. We have no record that Jesus ever mentioned anything in regard to the treatment of prisoners. But Jesus' ideal of love and loving one's neighbor has grown within man until he has come to the place where he feels that he has to break away from his old ideas and methods and reform the prisons and jails. The lack of Jesus' direct teaching on this matter has not caused man to keep his hands off this matter. The question of slavery affords another good illustration. We have no record that Jesus ever said anything against slavery. For a long time the Church upheld slavery, and Jesus' silence on this matter was greatly responsible for this retarded attitude of the Church. Today we are bewildered to think that the Church could ever have supported slavery, for Jesus' principle of love has developed within man to the place where he can no longer treat his fellow man as a slave, be his color what it may.

Jesus often told his disciples that he had many things to show unto them, but that they could not bear them at that time. 1. His principle of love was not going to turn the world upside down, but was going to permeate slowly throughout the whole structure of society. Many Christians have now come to the state of mind in which they feel they must apply this principle of love to international relations. It is difficult -- it is impossible -- to apply this principle in international affairs and at the same time wage war. Jesus did not say to apply this principle of love in this manner. Nevertheless, many Christians have come to the

---

1. John XVI: 12, I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. See also Mark IV: 33.



position where they feel it must be given this application.

They can not leave the matter of war alone, for they are convinced that loving one's international neighbor requires that one cease fighting with him.

Some of the opponents of pacifism refer to the passage wherein Jesus instructed the disciples to obtain swords, saying, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one". <sup>1.</sup> They hold that there would be no reason for them to buy a sword unless they were to use it, and right they are. But it seems that this objection is merely an objection of words. The only way this sentence can be made to bear this meaning is by lifting it out of its setting and making it stand alone. It is not possible to do this, however, by any legitimate means of interpretation. The very sentence that follows is a sufficient refutation of this idea. The disciples speak to him saying, "Lord, behold here are two swords", and he immediately answered, "It is enough". How could two be enough when he had just told every man to get a sword? Did Jesus change his mind? We think not! There is only one explanation. Jesus was not speaking of a sword of metal but of a spiritual sword -- a sword of the spirit that would fortify them against all temptations and trials and difficulties, a sword that would do much more in protecting them than a sword of steel. The latter would only cause others to turn their swords upon the disciples, but the spiritual sword would strengthen them and speed them in their journeys. The disciples failed to comprehend his meaning, as often was the case. They thought he meant a sword of steel, as others have thought. They discovered two swords

1. Luke XXII: 36-f





amongst them and told him they had two swords. "It is enough" was his reply. That should end the matter right there. How could two swords be enough to defend twelve people? That would be sheer folly and suicide. If a policy of force and armed resistance was to be followed, as many militarists would have us believe, the little band would have had to be armed to the very teeth. If one is going to fight, he must fight to the best of his ability or fall in the battle. If Jesus meant for his followers to take up the sword of combat, he would not have let them be content with two swords. He would have required them all to have swords and shields and lances. Also, if they were going to fight, they could have found a multitude of people to join with them. The Messianic ideal of that day pictured a militaristic hero who was going to lead the Jews into a victorious battle with their enemies, and there would have been a great multitude of people rushing to follow in such a battle train led by Jesus. But Jesus had rejected this Messianic ideal, and in doing so lost the support of the majority of people. And so we see that this militaristic argument crumbles under the fact that Jesus did not arm the disciples. Jesus said "It is enough" in order to stop the argument that was sidetracking the attention of the disciples from the idea he was trying to convey to them.

This, incidentally, was Jesus' custom. When the disciples misunderstood him, he simply dropped the subject. He hoped to continue living with the disciples and show them his way of life until they would be able to understand what he meant.

In many passages Jesus refers to strife and swords in this figurative fashion. "Think not that I am come to send peace on



earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." 1. Did Jesus mean that he came to be an Alexander, a Caesar, a Napoleon? We think not! He showed no signs of it! But he gave the world a new idea of love that caused a good deal of trouble, for it meant leaving the old ideas behind and reaching up to something new. Jesus realized that this ideal of loving God and loving one's neighbor would not be easy to achieve. He knew that it would cause divisions, troubles, heartaches. Jesus did not come to make men feel easy and comfortable, but rather to make them feel uncomfortable in their present status of content. He did not come to bring peace -- he came to bring a disturbance that should cause man to grow upwards along the path of God. Many times this disturbance has been like a sword in the hearts of men -- a sword that opened the hearts and minds of men to the great concepts of God. This sword of the spirit is still with us, and often it has to cut deep to make us realize our obligation in loving our fellow man.

Those who insist upon finding a sanction for war in this passage about the swords, further point out that the disciples evidently did get swords, and did use them. It seems plain that it was this misunderstanding on the part of the disciples that caused them to get swords, if such they did. As to the use of the swords, we can be sure only of Peter's use of the sword in the garden on the night of the betrayal. We ask, did Jesus sanction the use of the sword? No! If any seek for a direct refutation of war, they can find it here. Jesus commanded Peter to put up his sword. This condemnation on the part of Jesus further sustains

1. Matthew X: 34-f.



the position of the misunderstanding of the disciples, and it completely overthrows the assumption that Jesus was referring to a material sword when he told the disciples to supply themselves with swords.

A greatly distorted argument is used by the militarist, taken from the passage wherein Jesus uses the illustration of a king considering his own forces and the opposing forces before going to war. 1. We need only consider the context of the passage and heed the verses that come before and after. In this instance Jesus was trying to persuade the disciples to consider the cost of being a disciple, to see what was ahead of them; and to bring this home he related a parable. First he compared the Christian life to building a building. The builder makes careful plans, considers the entire cost, and prepares to bring the structure to completion. To further drive home his thought, he used the figure of a king counting the cost of a battle. The king carefully considers his forces and those of the opponents before a battle, lest his opponents be too numerous for him and he be sadly defeated. Jesus told them that they must forsake all; that they must plan as well as these men if they would be his disciples and bear his cross. They must plan as well as these men, but their planning was not to make war. It was to be merely a counting of the cost and looking ahead into the future. This illustration is not even a hint of consent to war. It is an illustration of counting the cost of peace, of bearing the cost of the cross of love and suffering for others, ultimately ending all strife forever.

---

1. Luke XIV: 28-33





Let us turn our attention to some other matters. We know that the Old Testament is full of war. It is a book of war heroes, and a history of a God of war. The essential difference between the Old Testament and the New is that the former is the history of the development of the Hebrews' religious concepts, and the latter is the climax and supreme revelation in that process of development as it is given to us through Jesus. Jesus brought a new and higher religious concept and it has superseded the Old Testament. We are no longer concerned with the Old Testament, for in the New Testament we have a higher and more perfect revelation of God through Jesus. This is the accepted position of the New Testament. However, there are a few people who point back to the Old Testament and claim it has validity and authority for the problems of today. We will indicate, in a general way, the error in this position.

The militarists, in looking back beyond Jesus, point to the time when soldiers came to John the Baptist and inquired what they should do. 1. John's answer was, be "Content with your wages". This is another bit of negative evidence. It does not prove that John approved or disapproved of military service. And what matters it if John did approve of military service -- we are concerned with what Jesus did. John has no significance for us. John tells us that himself. Jesus, the one who was to follow after him is the one for us to follow. "He (John) confessedly, belonged to that system which required 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth' . . . . . Although it could be proved (which it can not be) that he allowed wars, he acted not incon-

1. Luke III: 14.



sistently with his own dispensation; and with that dispensation we have no business. Yet if anyone still insists upon the authority of John, I would refer him for an answer to Jesus Christ himself. What authority He attached to John on questions relating to his own dispensation, may be learned from this --  
 'The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he'. 1.

Looking still farther back, the militarists refer to Moses and to the Law and the Prophets. This matter we shall dismiss quickly. Each one must answer the question for himself. Are we following the concept of God that was presented by Moses and by the Prophets, or are we following Jesus and his concept of the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of man? Any superficial reader of the Old Testament finds that wars are an important part of its structure. Wars were commanded to these Hebrew people by their religious leaders, but does that mean that wars are commanded of us? Other things were commanded of the Jews. They were commanded to kill their sons if they were drunkards or rebellious. 2.  
 We don't seem to insist upon that law today. We say it is heathenish and unchristian. The Hebrews were commanded to bring their tithe of the first fruits, 3. But we very carefully overlook that law as much as possible. However, when it comes to the matter of war, many militarists strongly insist that God's command to the Hebrews to wage war still holds today. It is strange how one can make out things to suit one's own interests!

---

"We have no intention to dispute the fact that under the

1. Dymond, pg 75.

2. Deuteronomy XXI: 18-21.

3. Leviticus XXVII: 30, etc.



Mosaic dispensation, some wars were allowed, or that they were enjoined upon the Jews as an imperative duty." This was in keeping with the old Jewish concept of God as a God of war and vengeance. "But those who refer, in justification of our present practice, to the authority by which the Jews prosecuted their wars, must be expected to produce the same authority for our own. Wars were commanded to the Jews, but are they commanded to us? War, in the abstract, was never commanded. And, surely, those specific wars which were enjoined upon the Jews for an express purpose, are neither authority nor example for us, who have received no such injunction, and can plead no such purpose."

"It will, perhaps, be said that the commands to prosecute wars, even to extermination, are so positive and so often repeated, that it is not probable, if they were inconsistent with the will of Heaven, they would have been thus peremptorily enjoined. We answer, that they were not inconsistent with the will of heaven then. But even then, the prophets foresaw that they were not accordant with the universal will of God, since they predicted that when that will should be fulfilled, war should be eradicated from the world." 1. This was to take place in the not too distant future. All of the religious leaders looked ahead to a time when man would make war no more and the swords would be beaten into plowshares.. 2.

"It has been said of old, but I say unto you," is the way Jesus met the situation. Waging war had been the thing to do,

---

1. Dymond, pg 88-f.

2. Isaiah, II: 4.





but now the race has grown up, and we are to Love our neighbors and do good unto them that despitefully use us. Only love and peace can abide in harmony with Jesus. The principle of Love must guide us, for it has supplanted the old code of war and revenge. We have no specific teaching of Jesus upon the matter of war. The only thing we have for our guide is his principle of Love. Each man will have to decide for himself how this principle is to be carried out in connection with this matter of war.



## CHAPTER II

THE EVIDENCE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
30-70 A.D.

To begin our historical study of this matter of war, let us look at the Apostolic Fathers and teachers who followed immediately in the footsteps of Jesus. We can find no evidence in their lives and actions indicating that they felt Jesus approved of war or that he had commanded them to take swords and kill men. It is beyond our purpose here to make a thorough study of all of the writings of the New Testament and analyze every move and thought in its relation to war. One can not find a sanction of war anywhere in the New Testament. There is a quite frequent use of militaristic figures of speech that seem to bother some people; but to contend that this sort of figurative language indicates any endorsement of war is misreading the New Testament. The Sword of truth, Breastplate of righteousness, Shield of faith, and Helmet of salvation may be phrases that have been adopted from a soldiers uniform, but the only war these weapons will wage is a spiritual war -- a war for peace and love and good will among men. Today we might use such phrases as blow to pieces, shoot straight, or aim well, and be talking entirely about peace. Although being blown to pieces, and shooting straight, and aiming well are things that go on in war, war is not necessarily the subject of our conversation when we use these figurative terms. Any and every militaristic figure of speech that Jesus or any of the apostles used was spoken to illustrate a battle of the spirit, a battle of peace and of love.



As for a specific command such as, "Thou shalt not engage in war", it will not be found in the New Testament. Codes were left behind under the old dispensation. But plenty of principles, which leave no room for war or its motives, are so plain and unavoidable in the New Testament that every one is familiar with them. Great principles such as these are found throughout the New Testament:

"Have peace one with another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

"Walk with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love."

"Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethern, be pitiful, be courteous, not remembering evil for evil or railing for railing."

"Be at peace among yourselves. See that none render evil for evil to any man. -- God hath called us to peace."

"Follow after love, patience, meekness. -- Be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men. -- Love in peace."

Lay aside all malice. -- Put off anger, wrath, malice. -- Let all bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamor, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice."

"Avenge not yourselves. -- If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. -- Recompense to no man evil for evil. Overcome evil with good."

Does this sound like war? To love and hold no malice and live at peace -- these things leave no room for war! Is it war to give your enemy drink? War causes him to starve and thirst! Is it war to do good for evil? War attempts to heap double





evil and revenge upon the head of the enemy. It is difficult to say that war as such is given any consideration at all in the New Testament.

Other evidence about the militaristic position of this period is rather scarce, yet sufficiently significant for us to consider. We have many accounts of dealings with soldiers. In some cases we find that the soldiers were influenced by these early Christians. A few of them were converted and baptized. However, we have no direct evidence in any of these cases that the soldiers gave up their profession as incompatible with their new life. When Peter baptized Cornelius and his companions, he gave them the kernel of the Christian doctrine as being "The word which God sent to the sons of Israel, giving the good news of peace through Jesus Christ". 1. There is no evidence, though, that this peace, which was so typical of the Christian mind and phraseology, suggested any necessity for Cornelius to change his calling. There was a similar situation when Paul baptized the jailer at Philippi. 2. Paul commended his faith, but apparently found no fault with his work as jailer-soldier.

It was quite natural that soldiers should fail to see any need to change from their profession upon becoming Christians. From their earliest childhood they had been trained that the soldiery was a high and honorable profession. Soldiers were held in great esteem by most of the people, and every red-blooded young man had a desire to enter military life. Since he had lived in such an exalted social position, it was quite unlikely that a sudden conversion would cause a soldier to feel it necessary to give up his highly honorable and praiseworthy office or even

1. Acts X: 36.

2. Acts XVI: 30-34



feel that it was unbecoming, or unchristian.

The world attitude toward religion also enters in here. It was a common thing, and especially so among the soldiers, to change religions whenever it was advantageous or whenever one felt one had discovered a better religion. Of course, the soldiers all had to adhere to emperor worship, but that did not prohibit them from holding other religions. Soldiers, who had thus perhaps changed religions several times and found none of them to be in the least incompatible their military profession, would hardly find in Christianity anything inconsistent with war. They were not accustomed to think of religion as being out of harmony with war.

To return to the matter of the soldiers, it must be remembered that this is all merely an argument of silence. The problem of war and militarism did not enter their thoughts, and it is quite possible that both of these soldiers referred to quitted their profession immediately or soon after their conversion. Moffatt, Bigelmair, and others warn us against assuming too confidently that no one at this time dreamed of any conflict between Christianity and war. 1.

It is hard to tell what the general attitude of the lay-Christianity of this period was toward soldiers and toward war. We have no direct evidence one way or another. All we can do is consider the facts that bear indirectly, and come to some probable or likely conclusions. Most, if not all, of the persecutions that befell the Christians were carried out by the

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 121.



soldiers. Almost all of the Christian martyrs were killed by soldiers, and all of the harsh and cruel treatment that befell the apostles was inflicted by the Roman soldiers. On a few occasions we have record of rather kind and human treatment of Christians by the soldiers, but for the most part it was harsh and cruel, even blood-thirsty treatment that the soldiers dealt out; and this could not help but cause the Christians to dislike the soldiers. In a few cases the more advanced Christians might hold a charitable attitude toward their persecutors, but the average Christian could not help resenting the attitude and actions of the soldiers even though that resentment did not take any noticable outward form. This resentment, however, did not grow out of any moral or ethical problem involved in the military profession but rather from the vicious persecutions.

As we have already noted, we can not tell whether the matter of war had come before the Christian mind as a distinct problem or not. There is some evidence that the Christians had some scruples against war; but the greatest evidence seems to point to the fact that the Christians had not yet noticed anything incompatible between the idea of love and war. One reason for the Christian's failing to realize any inconsistency between war and Christianity was that they were far removed from the battle fields and did not witness the fighting or know of any of the dreadful things that occurred in war. The slaughter, hate, and anger of the battle were entirely removed from them, and all they knew about soldiers was that they were quite highly respected by the general public. The glamour and romance





of the soldiers in the cities completely covered up their horror and brutality in battle. Thus the knowledge that would bring the break between Christianity and militarism was not available to the Christians.

In this period, as in the previous one, there were plenty of available men who were anxious to serve in the army, and no one was conscripted into the service unwillingly, save perhaps in some extreme case. Thus not coming in contact with military service, the Christians did not come face to face with the problem, and the issue was never raised in their minds. This seems to be the best and most likely conclusion, though it is not an absolute certainty.

Before we leave this period, there is one more event that we must consider, for it may cast some light on our problem. This event was the action of the Christians in the Jewish war of 66-70 A.D. Eusebius tells us that shortly before the Romans seized the City of Jerusalem, all of the Christians fled and settled at Pella in Perea in accordance to "An oracular response given by revelation to approved men there." 1. This flight is historically authentic, but we do not know very much about the motives that prompted it. Our purpose in bringing the subject up here, of course, is to point out that the Christians may have fled because they could not conscientiously take part in the war. This is only one of several possible reasons for the flight of the Christians. This exodus might have been a result or the apocalyptic tradition to which we referred above. 2.

1. Cadoux, pg 121.

2. Matthew XXIV: 15-23, and above, page 8.



It might also have been brought about by their disapproval of the national policy of the Jews, or by a final break with the Mosaism of the Jews, or even by a desire for personal safety. One answer is as good as another with our present information on the matter. We bring it up only because of the possible strength it lends to the pacifistic position. It is by no means impossible that the Christians fled Jerusalem because of their uncompromising attitude toward war. We know that the Jewish patriotism was extinct in the hearts of the Jewish Christians, and they would have no sympathy for the Jewish cause. They felt free to live according to the dictates of their conscience and the ideals of their religion, and it is altogether possible that their idea of the incompatibility of war was at least one of the reasons that caused them to flee to Pella when this outbreak came in 66 A.D.



## CHAPTER III

## THE LATER APOSTOLIC PERIOD

The Development of the Messianic Ideal  
and the Religion ABOUT Jesus

70-110 A.D.

Several of the matters considered in the previous periods will be found to overlap into this later Apostolic and subsequent periods. There is, however, enough difference between these eras to justify their separation. The purpose of these divisions is to make the various steps in the development of the peace idea stand out clearly.

The Christian desire for peace was rapidly accelerating in the first century A.D. Ignatius writes that "Nothing is better than peace, by which all wars of those in heaven and those on earth is abolished." 1. This desire for peace took on some practical forms such as struggling for peace within their own group, and a sincere desire and attempt to be at peace with the outside world. Of course in this desire for peace, there was some concern for their own safety, but it went beyond that. We find the following expression of a desire for peace in a prayer at the end of the epistle of Clement of Rome: "Give concord and peace to us and to all who inhabit the earth, as Thou gavest to our fathers. . . . we being obedient to Thine almighty and most excellent Name and to our rulers and governors upon the earth." 2. Clement also offers a lengthy prayer for the rulers that they might rule

1. Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians; XIII: 2.

2. First Clement, LX: 4. Refer to the Bibliography.





in peace and concord and find the favor of God. 1.

Though peace was praised and exalted, and strife condemned as unchristian, still nothing definite was said in condemnation of war. The Christians did much to cultivate the habit of peace among themselves and in their relations with others, yet they stopped short of an unqualified pronouncement against war. They did condemn war in a measure, and they praised peace as the highest virtue; but as war persisted, they gave in to it to quite an extent.

The Old Testament writings are taken as authoratitive by these first century Christians, and the wars therein are not disapproved. In fact in many places, the wars of the Old Testament are further glorified. Luke tells of the patriotic allusion made by Stephen and Paul to the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. 2.

Clement tells in some detail the story of Rahab and the spies and suggests that the scarlet thread she bound in her window is a type of the redeeming blood of the Lord. 3.

Such attempts to connect the Old Testament with Jesus necessarily bring the warlike spirit of the Old Testament over into Christianity. Barnabas finds a likeness of the cross in the hand of Moses extended above the battle between Israel and Amalek, 4. and a likeness of Jesus himself in Joshua who was ordered by Moses to record God's determination to wage war against the national foes of Israel. 5. Here we see that

1. First Clement, LVI: 1-f.

2. Acts VII:45 & XIII:19.

3. First Clement, XII.

4. Exodus XVII:8-13.

5. So-called Epistle of Barnabas, XII:2 & 8-f: & Exodus XVII:14.



wars were held as just and righteous in the sight of God. Such an attitude toward war in the Old Testament naturally kept the Christians from making a complete denunciation of all wars. 1.

The current beliefs built up around the Messianic hope was also a strong factor in beclouding the vision of the early Christians concerning the morality of war. In the first place the apocalyptic writings in Luke and Matthew regarding the destruction of Jerusalem somewhat glorify and sanction war and behold it as just punishment dealt to the nation for rejecting Jesus. 2. The authenticity of these passages is very doubtful; in fact they should be completely rejected, but that does not alter the fact that this writing had its effect on the early Christians and made them feel that in some cases war was acceptable.

The greater part of the whole Messianic hope and ideal was built around a militaristic idea. The Jews had always been having trouble with their neighbors and were in almost continual servitude. In their hope for a saviour or Messiah, it was inevitable that they should build up the idea of freedom; and, as they saw it, that freedom could only come through a strong military organization. Jesus completely rejected this concept of the Messianic office and based his kingdom on a pacifistic salvation of love. Jesus' acceptance of the Messianic role under the spiritual form did not stop the people from carrying on their strong tradition of a militaristic Messiah who was to

---

1. General reference, Cadoux pg 184-5.

2. Matthew XXIV, & Luke XVII:20-37.



free them from their bondage. Jesus did his best to remove this misconception from the Messianic office, but their old hates and fears were too deeply imbedded to be removed in any one generation. When Jesus made some definite attempts to show the people that he was not going to be a war lord and lead the people into battle, he lost a great portion of his following. This was one of the most direct causes for his death on the cross. The followers that carried on his work did at least have a partial vision of his peaceful and loving Messianic hope. But the religion OF Jesus was soon lost in the popular form of the religion ABOUT Jesus. The people covered up the apostles' teachings with their own traditions and beliefs about a militaristic Messiah. Their dream was of a strong war lord who would lead them successfully into battle; and Jesus, their Messiah, was conceived of as that person. With such a strong patriotic drive behind the early teachings of Jesus, it is not hard to see why the Christians could not make a complete denunciation of war. They desired peace in general terms, but the traditional element of the Jews that had been carried over into the Messianic office kept them from taking the full pacifistic attitude that was later given to Christianity.

The Jewish war that ended in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. did by no means exhaust the element of war in Christian Messiasism. Jerusalem had fallen, but Jesus had not come. Their hope had to be carried on. They were promised wars and rumors of wars, and Christians who were hoping for the coming of Christ naturally would not too strongly condemn





the wars that were to bring his second coming. And even after he should come again, he was to wage a victorious war against all of his enemies. As we have seen, this is a Jewish idea directly transplanted into Christian thinking. The warrior-Christ would win his victories with armies of angels. This warrior-Christ concept of the Messiah who would conquer all of his enemies played its part, along with the acceptance and glorification of the Old Testament wars, in preventing a whole-hearted rejection of war as an alien element in Christian conduct.

We have already referred to the use of war terms and militaristic figures of speech in illustrating the Christian life, and we shall find occasion to do so again. The frequent use of the military figure could not but have its effect upon the minds and thoughts of the early Christians. These figures of speech were so real and clear to the Christians that they often failed to see the figurative part and took the teachings literally. The apostles and teachers translated their religious ideas into loyalty and obedience to the rulers. In most cases the early church fathers of this period-- Ignatius and Clement especially -- did no more than enlarge upon the teachings found in our writings of the New Testament. In some cases they simply formed a military metaphor, but on other occasions the teachings were more direct and were made to apply to subordination of Christians to Church-leaders. When such teachings were put forth, it was impossible to keep from turning the attention to the army, and in time a degree of admiration and praise was developed for the army. With this type of illustration and teachings constantly before them it was only natural that the Christians should fail to make a whole-hearted condemnation of the



militaristic position. Peace was sought after and desired, yet war could not be completely condemned because of the subtle and unsuspecting way it wove itself into their basic thoughts.

As far as we can tell, the Christian feelings toward soldiers remained about the same as in the previous period. In all probability, though, the Christians knew and heard more about the cruel and heartless character of the soldiers than about any other phase of their profession -- hence their great dislike for the soldiers.

Cadoux sums up this period saying: "We have practically no direct evidence whereby to test the state of Christian feeling at this time on the question as to how far, if at all, it was regarded as legitimate for a Christian to be a soldier. We can only say (1) that no Christian writing up to the end of our period contains any explicit statement to the effect that it was wrong for a Christian to be a soldier; (2) that these writings, besides containing complimentary allusions to various military men, record how one or two such men were actually admitted to the Christian Church by baptism without being asked (as far as we know) to resign their military calling; (3) that, after the conversion of the Philippian gaoler, there is no undoubted reference to any Christian soldiers for a hundred and twenty years; (4) that probably no one at this time was compelled to be a soldier against his will; and (5) that the teaching of Jesus and Christian ethical teaching generally conflicted diametrically with the normal duties of the soldier. We shall probably not be far from the truth in concluding that for the majority of Christians nothing had occurred to bring



the military problem before their minds; hence the few cases of soldiers being converted raised little difficulty. No Christian, on the other hand, would voluntarily become a soldier after conversion: he would be deterred from doing so, not only by fear of contamination from idolatry, but also by a natural reluctance -- and doubtless in many cases a conscientious objection -- to using arms." <sup>1.</sup>

---

1. Cadoux, pg 189-f.





## CHAPTER IV

## THE POST APOSTOLIC PERIOD

## The First Bud of Peace.

110-180 A.D.

The attitude of the Christians toward peace and war in the Post Apostolic period is in general the same as in the previous periods. If there is any difference, it is a leaning toward the side of peace and against war. The peace idea was gaining ground, and the Christians looked ahead to the time when there would be universal peace. It was the duty of all Christians to be on good terms with all people, and they took deep interest in maintaining peace on earth. "Justinus told the emperors that the Christians were the best allies and helpers they had in promoting peace. He quoted the Isaianic prophecy about the end of wars, and pointed to the spread of Christianity throughout the world as a fulfillment of it. Athenagoras recognizes that the world in general and the Christians in particular owe their state of peace to the power and wisdom of the imperial rulers." <sup>1.</sup>

On the opposite side of the picture we see that a real horror of war was coming increasingly to the foreground in Christian thought. "Aristides attributed the ceaseless wars of men (primarily the Hellenes) to their erroneous views as to the nature of the gods; for among the unworthy characters assigned to them was that of the warrior, by which Ares and Herakles were discredited. Justinus said that it was the evil angels and their offspring the demons who showed murders and wars among men. Tatianus

---

<sup>1.</sup> Cadoux pg 269.



said that the demons by means of oracles not only excited war -- which he spoke of as murder -- but also deceitfully predicted victory. Athenagoras instances the usage of unjust war -- the slaughter of myriads of men, the razing of cities, the burning of houses with their inhabitants, the devastation of land, and the destruction of entire populations -- as samples of the worst sins, such as could not be adequately punished by any amount of suffering in this life." 1. War was something which the Christians were to avoid -- was something which the leaders saw to be out of place in the Christian life.

Yet mingled with the same evidence we find that there were exceptions to this growing dislike for war. Most of these exceptions had found their roots in earlier periods. Those early Church writers who so strongly condemned war turned about and sanctioned and magnified the wars and battles of the Old Testament. It would be only duplication, for the most part, to go over this matter again. We refer the reader to the previous discussion. 2. Likewise, the thought of this period on the matter of the Messianic wars was practically the same as that discussed above. 3. The idea of a warring God and Lord still persisted in somewhat different form yet with the same general effect. All the writers who had a tendency toward the Messianic idea seem to have made the wars and battles even more dreadful. God is pictured as angry and wrathful and reaping vengeance; and always the Christians are saved and the nonchristians perish. All of this type of writing naturally

---

1. Cadoux pg 269-f.

2. Above, pg 32.

3. Above, pg 33-34..



tended to nullify all of the attempts toward peace that were undertaken in this period.

One significant thing for us to note is that the reference to warfare in illustrating phases of the Christian life has, in this period, decreased. "Justinus has one rather striking simile. 'It would be a ridiculous thing', says he 'that the soldiers engaged and enrolled by you' (the emperor) 'should respect their agreement with you in preference to their own life and parents and country and all their friends, though ye can offer them nothing incorruptible, and that we, loving incorruptibility, should not endure all things for the sake of receiving what we long for from Him who is able to give it.' Tatianus has a long description of the Christian warfare. In the apocryphal 'Martyrdom of Paul', written perhaps about 165 A.D., both the author himself and the characters he introduces speak of Christians as soldiers in the service of God. The paucity of these passages rather indicates that the military analogy did not appeal very widely or strongly to the Christians of this period." 1.

We find some evidence that many Christians undoubtedly refrained from participating in military service. Justinus says in his 'Apology': "We who hated one another, and slew one another, and on account of (differing) customs would not share even common hearths with those not of the same tribe as ourselves, now since the coming of Christ become sociable, and pray for our enemies, and try to persuade those that hate us unjustly, so that they, living according to the fair precepts

---

1. Cadoux, pg 272.





of Christ, may share our good hope of receiving the same (reward) as ourselves from the God who rules all things." 1.

In another place he says, "When the prophetic spirit speaks as prophesying things that are to happen, it says thus;

'For from Sion will come forth law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and He will judge between nations and convict many people: and they will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into sickles, and they will not take the sword nation against nation, and they will not learn any more to make war.' And that this has happened, ye can be persuaded.

For twelve men went out from Jerusalem into the world, and they were ignorant men, unable to speak; but by the power of God they told every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all (men) the word of God. And we who formerly slew one another not only do not make war against our enemies, but, for the sake of not telling lies or deciving those who examine us, gladly die confessing Christ." 2.

In his 'Dialogue' Justinus further emphasizes the same idea saying, "We who were filled with war and mutual slaughter and wickedness, have changed each one our warlike instruments throughout the whole earth -- the swords into ploughshares and the spears into farming implements, and we cultivate piety, righteousness, love for men, faith, (and) the hope which (we have) from the Father through the Crucified one." 3. Moffatt says of this writer, "Justin steadily set his eyes upon the peaceful advance of Christianity, unarmed and non-resisting. Even yet, however, the question of

---

1. Justinus, First Appology, XIV: 3. Refer to the Bibliography.

2. Ibid, XXXIX: 1-5.

3. Cadoux, pg 273



the Christian as citizen had not fully presented itself to the Christian consciousness." <sup>1.</sup> Tatianus is opposed to the military calling likewise, and flatly says, "I decline military command." "Athenagoras said that Christians could not endure to see a man put to death, even justly, considering that to do so was practically equivalent to killing him, and that for this reason they could not attend the gladiatorial games. Celsus thought it necessary to appeal to the Christians as a body to help the Emperor zealously, to co-operate with him in maintaining justice, and to fight for him, if he should call upon them to do so, both in the ranks and in positions of military command. He argued that, if all did as they did, the Emperor would be deserted, and his realm fall a prey to savages and barbarians." <sup>2.</sup> This last bit of evidence, though coming from the negative side, seems to be the most far reaching and probably the best bit of proof that Christians were sincerely and earnestly taking their pacific position. At least we can be sure that the Christians were making sufficient effort along this line that some non-christians were worried lest pacifism spread to such an extent that there would be no army.

Another source of our information in regard to this matter of war is our knowledge of the conditions of the military service of the time. We have previously stated that soldiers were plentiful and that no one would, save in very extreme cases, be compelled to join the army against his will. The same condition existed in the period we are now considering. It was very rarely that

---

1. Cadoux, pg 273, note #3.

2. Cadoux, pg 274.



Christians came in contact with compulsory military service. This partly accounts for the tardiness of the Christians's consideration of the problem of Christianity and war. At the same time we must consider that there were certain duties that befell those in the military life that would be unthinkable on the part of the peace loving Christians. Cadoux describes the duties of the army as following: "The shedding of blood on the battlefield, the passing of death-sentences by officers and the execution of them by common soldiers, the judicial infliction of scourging, torture, and crucifixion, the unconditional military oath, the all-prevailing Kaiser cult, the sacrifices in which all were expected in some way to participate, the average behaviour of soldiers in peace-time, and other idolatrous and offensive customs -- all these would constitute in combination an exceedingly powerful deterrent against any Christian joining the army on his own initiative."<sup>1.</sup> The grounds upon which we may base our assumption of non-participation of Christians in the army is very meager and may in some cases be based upon silence. However, we may venture to say that, though there is no direct or unanimous prohibition laid down by the Church against military service, until the time of Marcus Aurelius ( Emperor from 161-180 A.D.), no Christian would become a soldier after his baptism.

After the doubtful cases of Cornelius and the Philippian jailor<sup>2.</sup> we have no positive evidence of Christian soldiers in the army until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, where we find a piece of evidence of considerable significance. "During

1. Cadoux, pg 275.

2. Above, pg 26.





one of the Emperor's campaigns against the Quadi -- perhaps in 173 or 174 A.D. (though some put it as early as 171 A.D.) -- the Roman army found itself in serious difficulties owing to lack of water. In the twelfth legion -- the Legio Fulminata, (popularly called The Thundering Legion) "Usually stationed in Melitene, a region in Eastern Cappadocia, and recruited in the same neighbourhood -- there was a considerable number of Christian soldiers. These prayed for relief from the drought, and at once a shower refreshed the Roman troops, while a storm discomfited the enemy. Such is, in bare outline, the story of what, as far as we can make out, actually happened. Evidently it was an incident of some importance, for it was commemorated on the column set up by Marcus Aurelius at Rome, and noticed by a number of writers, both Christian and pagan. The pagan accounts do not mention the Christians in the army at all, and so are of no value for our immediate purpose, beyond confirming the historical background of the story." <sup>1.</sup>

The various Christian versions of this story undoubtedly contain great exaggerations, but the point to keep in mind is that there must be at least some truth in so wide-spread a story. It is a fact that about the time of 173 A.D. there must have been a considerable number of Christians in the Thundering Legion. It should also be born in mind that it was quite generally known that these Christians were in the army, yet we have no record of the Church's voicing its disapproval.

We have pointed out the unattractiveness of the army for the Christians. At the same time, however, we must mention

---

1. Cadoux, pg 277.



the fact that a converted soldier often failed to see the discord between the Christian ideal and the military life. It appears that the apostolic dictum, "Let everyone remain in the calling wherein he was called", <sup>1.</sup> was made to apply especially to this one particular field. Such an adaption of this phrase was aided by three other factors: "Firstly, the simple-mindedness of the soldiers themselves, who would be, for the most part, men of a somewhat uncultured and unreflective type; secondly, the gradual and steady growth throughout the Church of a certain moral laxity, which was engaging the serious and anxious attention of Christian leaders as early as the time of Hermas (about 140 A.D.), and had become an acute problem by the time of Callistus (217 A.D.): this abatement of the primitive moral rigor would naturally assist the process of conformity to the ways of the world; and thirdly, there was the tolerant connivance of the Church at large: the number of cases was few, the ethical problem was unfamiliar and complicated, the erection of Christ's banner in the devil's camp was in any case a matter of rejoicing, to leave the army on Christian grounds would have been a matter of great difficulty and danger, and the issue was not seen with sufficient clearness to cause so extreme a step to be demanded generally from the converts." <sup>2.</sup>

A new element enters in here that may indirectly throw some light on our problem. This new consideration is the Christians' attitude and action toward the Gladiatorial Shows. We have only two definite passages upon this subject in our present period of consideration, and they come from Tatian

---

1. Cadoux, pg 279.

2. Ibid, pg 279.



and Athenagoras. Tatianus, writing to the authorities about this matter, says, "Some, taking up idleness for the sake of profligacy, sell themselves to be slain. And the hungry man sells himself, and the rich buys those who are to do the killing. And for these the witnesses take their seats, and the combatants engage in single fight over nothing, and no one comes down to the rescue. Is it good that these things should be done by you? He who is in high station among you gets together the army of men stained with slaughter, promising to maintain them like robbers. The robbers come forth from him, and ye all assemble at the spectacle as judges, partly, of the wickedness of the president of the games, partly, of that of the gladiators. And he who is not present at the slaughter is grieved, because he was not condemned to witness wicked and foul acts. Ye sacrifice animals for the sake of eating flesh, and ye buy men to provide your soul with human slaughter, nourishing it with most godless bloodshed. Thus the robber slaughters for the sake of taking (booty); while the rich man buys gladiators for the sake of (their) being killed." <sup>1.</sup> The words of Athenagoras are just as strong: "But who (among you, the non-christians) does not feel an uncontrollable zest for the contest of armed men with one another and with wild beasts, and especially the contests conducted by you? But we, who consider that to see a man being slain is next door to killing him, have renounced such sights. How then, when we do not even look on, lest we should inflict guilt and pollution on ourselves, are we able to commit murder?" <sup>2.</sup>

If the Christian moral standard had gained sufficient

---

1. Cadoux, pg 280-f.

2. Ibid, pg 281.





ground to renounce the Gladiatorial shows, we feel that with our evidence at hand, we can assert that the Church had also gained a step in the direction of realizing the inconsistency of war with the religion OF Jesus. We might conclude our thoughts on this period with this summary: It is evident that Christians had begun to enter the army to some extent. The Christian condemnation of war that we find here is evidence of both a moral growth and a growth of the problem into the Christian conscience. The beginning of the flux of Christians into the army marked the upward trend of the Christian war conscience.



## CHAPTER V

## THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT THINKERS

180-250 A.D.

We are now venturing into the most difficult period of our whole study. This era from the end of the second century to the middle of the third century has rightly been called the period of the great thinkers. There are five outstanding characters, Irenaeus, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus of Rome, and Origen, besides numerous minor writers crowded into these few short years of history. Here we find the contest of the Church and militarism at its height. Our evidence is at once plentiful and contradictory. Both sides of the question are at their height, and it is difficult to make any general observations on this period. We shall have to try to paint the picture in considerable detail and trust that we will emerge with a true perspective of the whole situation.

The Christians' contact with soldiers undoubtedly had a good deal to do in forming their attitude toward war in general, and the military profession in particular. Beyond doubt the soldiers themselves played a large part in inflicting the persecutions that the Christians suffered. Tertullian counts the soldiers as strangers to the Christians, and as such, enemies of the truth. It also appears that the Christians were in as much danger from the soldiers as from the hatred of the mobs. We can understand how this would be, for Christians were liable to be hunted out and punished as a matter of police protection. Nor was the



soldier's conduct toward condemned Christians anything that would call out respect.

The other side of the picture has a few brighter spots. We do occasionally find Christians receiving kindly treatment at the hands of the soldiers, and in a few instances the soldiers were deeply touched and even converted by the example of the Christians under persecution. We also have some evidence of soldiers being bribed, by outside Christians, to treat the imprisoned ones more kindly, and in some extreme cases even going to the point of securing them immunity or release. When this was done, the Christians always justified themselves in some manner, usually in saying that they were rendering unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's. This sort of action was, however, generally disapproved.

On this brighter side of the picture we even see Christians receiving the protection of soldiers. The Maiden Potamiaena was protected by the heathen soldier Basileides (which incident we shall refer to later). Origen had a military escort on some of his visits, and we have an account of a man called Gregorius, with his brothers and sisters, all Christians, being given a military escort.

Our general observations in the previous sections on the peaceful trend of Christianity hold true here, and we refer the reader to them. 1. To focus our attention more clearly on this period we call attention to some of Clemen's statements on the peaceableness of the Christians which we may consider as typical of this period. "We are being educated, not in war,

1. See above, pgs 31 & 38





but in peace': 'We, the peaceful race,' are more temperate than the 'Warlike races'; among musical instruments, 'Man is in reality a pacific instrument,' the others excite military and amorous passions; 'but we have made use of only one instrument, the peaceful word, wherewith we honor God!'. 1.

We could cite many other evidences of the desire for peace on earth if space would permit, but these are typical.

Even with the somewhat stronger emphasis on peace in this period, we still find a great deal of interest in the wars of Hebrew History. These Old Testament writings are usually referred to without any hint that they might be inconsistent with the Christian position or out of keeping with the teachings of Jesus. The problem of this discrepancy between the Old and the New Testament was beginning to come into prominence, however, and Marcion was one of the first to call attention to it. Many of the writers felt that it was time that this matter be cleared up. Some of the Old Testament passages were being quoted in support of the militaristic position. One of the most common ways of getting away from this misapplication of the Old Testament was to consider the Old Testament wars as parables and types that were describing spiritual life. This led to much misunderstanding and rationalizing; but it was a start on the road to a better comprehension of the moral problem involved in war, and it was the beginning of the realization that revelation was a progressive and not a fixed matter. 2.

The idea of divine warfare was quite prevalent in this

---

1. Cadoux, pg 403

2. General reference, Cadoux, pg 407-408.



period. Christ's achievements were often referred to as military exploits. Wars that were supposed to precede the Messianic age were quite frequently referred to, and the Christian life was frequently depicted in military terms. This use of militaristic metaphors and similes seems to have come back into great prominence at this time. Some of the writers, Clemens, Origen, and especially Tertullian, abound in such descriptive terms. These writers were strictly averse to any form of military life, however, and such phrases were used because they seemed to be the best vehicle for illustrating their spiritual thoughts.

Many writers looked for ways of rationalizing the current wars and hit upon the expediency of asserting that the wars were a measure of Divine discipline and providence. We shall presently see that this justification was also used as a pretext for joining the army in a just cause and aiding the Divine justice to descend more wrathfully upon one's personal enemies. Little did these first writers dream that this rationalization would be a stepping stone to the thing they were trying to avoid; and further that it would be used as a means of making the individual and the state the source and the executor of the so-called Divine judgment.

Closely akin to this was the view which regarded war as the ordinary instrument of the state for the maintenance of peace and justice. Several of the great writers of this period expounded upon this idea at considerable length. Many of the teachings of the apostles were made to substantiate this idea. Along this line **Irenaeus** says of God: "He repays with entire justice; and accordingly it says: 'Sending his armies, He



destroyed those murderers, and burned their city.' Now it says: His armies, because all men are God's . . . . . And for this reason the Apostle Paul . . . . . says: 'There is no power except from God.'" 1. It also follows that the idea of God's appointing the kings and rulers implies His control of inter-state wars. Tertullian speaks of such wars in this manner: ". . . . Inquire who has ordained the changes of the times. . . . (It is) He(who) distributes kingdoms, and now has gathered that supreme (power) into the hands of the Romans." 2.

We see today that this sort of theology was making God do what man wanted Him to do. Our theology today does not admit of such flexibility; we consider that man is the clay in the hands of the Potter, rather than that God serves the purposes of man. These early Christians undoubtedly were sincere in treating the idea of God in this manner, but they did not see the far reaching implications of their position. They had lost sight of the real goal Jesus gave them and had tried to alter His ideals and ideas to make them fit into the existing order.

There was a considerable attempt in this period to justify war. Sometimes this was done unconsciously, and on other occasions it was done more directly. Cadoux says, "Most of the writers of this period use, at times, expressions -- of varying degrees of deliberateness -- tacitly or explicitly recognizing the relative rightfulness of war. Sometimes it is a purely unconscious and non-committal allusion to war as a familiar human institution: sometimes it is brought in for the sake of argument, the author temporarily adopting the ordinary

1. Cadoux, pg 411.

2. Ibid, pg 412.





standpoint of the world: sometimes it amounts to a full, though relative, approval. But not even this last, nor, a fortiori, either of the other two, carries with it the belief that a Christian could consistently be a soldier. The positions of both Tertullian and Origen are sufficient to prove this." 1.

Irenaeus mentions the military arts among the things that are useful to mankind. 2. Clemens expounds at some length upon the simplicity of the barbarians such as the Celts and Scythians, which carried along with it an approval of their warlike temperament and life. 3. He also makes mention of the Hebrews' relation to the Egyptians in setting out over the desert, 4. and of the military genius of Moses in such a manner that he speaks strongly in favor of war. 5.

Still further we see that Clemens, "Writing his 'Exhortation to the Hellens'; perhaps about the same time (200 A.D.), refers to military service without giving any indication that there was any impropriety or difficulty or problem connected with the engagement of Christians in it. 'Be a farmer, we say, if thou art a farmer,' so he addresses the heathen reader, 'but know God while thou art farming. And sail, thou lover of navigation, but (sail) calling upon the Heavenly Pilot. Has knowledge taken hold of thee when serving as a soldier? (then) listen to the General who orders what is righteous.' Some years later when

1. Cadoux, pg 412.

2. Ibid, pg 412, note # 4.

3. Ibid, pg 412, note # 5.

4. Ibid, pg 413, note # 1.

5. Ibid, pg 413, note # 2.



writing for Christian readers, he says: 'Barefootedness is very becoming to a man, except when he is on military service'. . . . Clemens quotes the Mosaic regulations in regard to the exemption of certain classes of men from military service and of summoning the enemy to come to terms before attacking them, without any intimation that they would not be applicable to Christians." 1.

Tertullian quite frequently alludes to war in an attempt to gain a point over his opponents. This sometimes leaves his real opinions obscure, but we must consider that for the reader these arguments were an argument for war. One of his ideas was that war, along with pestilence, famine, and upheavals of the state, were a check on the growing human race. 2. Tertullian further says in writing to the pagans in 197 A.D.; "'Ye cry out that the State is besieged -- that there are Christians in the fields, in the fortresses, in the islands!'" In another place he says, "'We (Christians) are (but) people of yesterday: and we have filled everything that is yours -- cities, islands (? or blocks of dwellings), forts, townships, places of assembly, the very camps, the tribes, the decuries, the palace, the Senate, the forum.'" And again "'With you we go on voyages, and serve as soldiers, and till the soil, and trade; we mingle (our) crafts (with yours); we make our works public for your use.'" 3.

Here Tertullian at least recognizes that Christians are to be found in the militaristic profession even if he does not quite uphold militarism.

The two most important witnesses in this matter are yet to be

1. Cadoux, pg 418.

2. Ibid, pg 413.

3. Ibid, pg 419-420.



considered. First let us consider Julius Africanus, who seems to be much more of a widely read scholar and scientist than a Christian, but still his professing of Christianity is beyond doubt, and it is this fact that makes his evidence interesting. "He (Julius Africanus) dedicated to Alexander Severus an extensive encyclopedia of the natural sciences, medicine, magic, agriculture, naval and military warfare, and gave it the curious title of *Embroidered Girdles*'. In the section on military science, the author does not mince matters, but treats frankly of the different means of destroying the enemy, and even includes instructions for poisoning food, wine, wells, and air. But in this matter he is merely an individual curiosity, representing no one but himself. How little the ethical side of Christianity had touched him is clear from the fact that his *Embroidered Girdles* included a section on aphrodisiac secrets, which was full of obscenities." 1.

On the other side we have the evidence of Origen who is of first importance for the philosophy as well as the history of our subject. "His calm temper and unrheterical seriousness gives his words a much greater significance than we can attach to those of the excitable controversialists of Carthage. His recognition of the part played by war in the history of the race and the relative approval he accordingly gave to it comes out in several passages in his reply to Celsus. Firstly, in speaking of the adaptation of the world for the preaching of the Gospel by the combination of all peoples in

---

1. Cadoux, pg 414





a single empire, he says: 'The existence of many kingdoms would have been an obstacle to the extension of Jesus' teaching throughout the whole world, not only because of what has just been said, but also on account of people everywhere being compelled to bear arms and to make war for the(ir) countries: and this (was what) happened before the times of Augustus and still earlier, when war had to be waged, for instance, between Peloponnesians and Athenians, and similarly between others.' He mentions in a tone of protest that Celsus tries to 'depreciate as far as he can not only our --(the ) Christians' -- but all men's cities and constitutions and sovereignties and governments and war for fatherlands.' As if allowing, even though unconsciously, for the easily overlooked fact that the rightness and wrongness of action is largely relative to the subjective conditions of the doer, Origen does full justice to the noble element in the sub-Christian ethics without compromising his own higher ethics. It is from this point of view that we have to regard his relative approval, not only of war, but even of assassination. Thus he speaks approvingly of Judith's act in slaying Holophernes, and more generally of the act of conspiring against and assassinating a tyrant. . . . . It is impossible to avoid confusion in the study of Origen's position -- not to mention the risk of doing him a great injustice -- without making adequate allowance for the distinction here noted. How incorrect, for instance, it would be to infer from his approval of the exemption of pagan priests from military service, that he would have approved of Christians taking up



such priesthood! Finally, when answering the question, what would happen if the Romans as a body left their own gods to worship the one God, he says that 'Praying with all concord, they will be able to overthrow far more enemies who pursue (them) than those whom the prayer of Moses, when he cried to God, and of those with him, overthrew. . . . But if, according to Celsus' supposition, all the Romans were to be persuaded, they will by praying overcome their enemies' -- and then, realizing suddenly that he has slipped into a phrase not perfectly consistent with what he says elsewhere, he corrects himself and continues -- 'or (rather) they will not make war at all, being guarded by the Divine power, which promised to save five whole cities for the sake of fifty righteous.'" <sup>1.</sup> Thus it would seem that these Christians of the early part of the third century were trying to maintain both positions at once. They were trying to be in favor of war -- at least in a milder open minded sense -- because that was the way of the world at that time, and they were also opposed to war because they knew that it was contrary to the Christian ideal and ethics.

Even these great Christian figures were in part acquiescing in worldly conditions for their opposition to war was beginning to weaken. In the paragraph above we see that Origen made a back hand objection to war on the basis that Christians would not have to fight -- that they would pray against their enemies and God would fight their battles for them. The idea was soon developed that it was not right for

---

1. Cadoux, pg 415-ff.



Christians to take a sword and enter into battle, but it was their duty to pray for the victory of the army and the emperor, etc. "Tertullian says that Christians pray constantly 'for all emperors that their . . . rule may be secure, . . . their armies strong, . . . the world quiet.' Origen says that it is the special province of Christians, who do not themselves fight, to 'strive by prayers to God on behalf of those who render military service righteously and on behalf of him who reigns righteously, that all things opposed and hostile to them that deal righteously may be put down.'" 1.

We have been considering the theoretical side of the matter in this period of our study. We have seen that in theory the Christians desired peace and hated war. We also note that they justified war to some extent, and almost in the same breath condemned it. The greater part of our evidence here has been on the side of justifying war, yet it must be said that this is not the true perspective of the story. This attempt at justifying war can hardly mean anything else than that there were some who desired to enter war, and this justification was an attempt to keep them from making too complete a break with the Church. There were still a great many people who disapproved of war. We are probably safe in saying that it was but a small minority of the Christians who were interested in war. All of this increasing evidence as we trace our study through these early centuries does not prove that more people were losing the peace loving ideals of Jesus -- not by any means -- but rather that the problem was coming up before the people and was calling

---

1. Cadoux, pg 417.





for more attention than it had previously received.

Turning now from the theoretical side, let us see what exact evidence we can find that will bear upon our subject. In this period from 180 to 250 A.D., we have a considerable number of Christians serving in the imperial armies, and Christian leaders, many of whom were deep thinkers of unquestionable sincerity, gave no reproach to this action.

At the close of the previous period we found that there were quite a few Christians in the Legio Fulminata, of Thundering Legion, as it was popularly known.<sup>1.</sup> For the present period we find that Julius Africanus, whom we referred to above, <sup>2.</sup> was probably an officer in the army of Severus against the Osrhoenes in 195 A.D. <sup>3.</sup> "In the course of the persecution of Severus, perhaps in 202 A.D. or a little later, there occurred in Alexandria the conversion and martyrdom of the soldier Basileides. While still a heathen, he had received instruction under Origen. During the persecution it fell to his lot to conduct the Christian maiden Potamiaena to execution; and in doing so he protected her from the insults of the crowd, and showed her much sympathy and kindness, for which she expressed her appreciation. <sup>4.</sup> Apparently he also had to preside at the execution, which consisted of boiling pitch being poured over the girl's body from the feet upwards. The experience issued in Basileides' conversion; at first he kept the change a secret, but it soon became public through his refusal

1. Above, pg 44.

2. Above, pg 55.

3. Cadoux, pg 418.

4. Above, pg 49.



to take an oath when challenged to do so by his fellow-soldiers. He was led to the judge, confessed, and received sentence. He was visited in the prison by the Christians, and baptized, and the next day was beheaded. Nothing is said as to his conversion leading him to want to resign his commission in the army."<sup>1.</sup>

Another bit of evidence tells us that, "Shortly after the accession of Caracalla <sup>2.</sup> and Geta (211 A.D.), an imperial largess was being distributed to the Roman troops in Numidia, when one Christian soldier made himself conspicuous by refusing to put on the laurel garland which every one else was wearing. His fellow Christians in the army -- not to mention the heathen soldiers -- and some at least of the Christian civilians as well, condemned his action on the ground that it was rash and presumptuous and likely to provoke persecution, and that nowhere in Scripture were they forbidden to be crowned. The incident shows that there were at the time many Christians in the Roman army in Africa, and that some, possibly a majority of the members of the local Church, raised no objection to their being there. It does not prove that the whole of the local Church -- still less that the Church generally -- had no scruples at all about its members serving as soldiers." <sup>3.</sup>

We find some evidence from the inscriptions. In the year 217 A.D. the tomb of the imperial officer, Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, received a supplementary inscription from his freedman, the Christian Ampelius, who described himself as "Returning from

1. Cadoux, pg 419.

2. Nick-name given to Marcus Aurelius Antonius.

3. Cadoux, pg 420-f.



the campaigns." Another inscription -- not later than 250 A.D. -- found at Hodjalar (possibly Tymion) in Phrygia, gives us "the epitaph on the family tomb of two Christian soldiers." Lastly, Cyprian tells us that the uncles of a certain Celerinus -- a confessor of the time of Decius (250 A.D.) -- had been soldiers and martyrs.<sup>1.</sup>

In concluding this side of the matter, we can say we know that at the time 'De Idololatria' (198 - 203 A.D.) and 'De Corona' (211 A.D.) were written, there were some Christians who had joined the army.<sup>2.</sup> In these writings Tertullian deals with the matter of soldiers who were professing Christianity. In 'De Corona' we find that these were not the only cases that Tertullian had to deal with, for he plainly indicates that there were some who had gone into the army after conversion. This is the earliest positive evidence we have of any one's becoming a soldier after he became a Christian. All of our previous evidence has been concerned with those who were soldiers at the time of their conversion. We can be sure that these Christian soldiers had to make a great many compromises, but to exactly what extent these compromises went we can not be certain. It would impossible to refrain from shedding blood or inflicting all manner of punishments. It was a compromising Christian position to say the least.

Turning our attention now to the more hopeful side of the situation, we see that there was a great deal of condemnation of war in this period. Though only in a general way, Clemens

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 421, note # 4.

2. Cadoux, pg 422, note # 1.





condemned war as contrary to the true Christian spirit, mainly because of the forethought necessary in preparation for war and the reliance upon the artificial stimulus of music. The Pseudo-Justinian writer appeals to the Hellenes saying; "'Be instructed by the Divine Word, and learn about the incorruptible King, and recognize His heroes, who never inflict slaughter on people.'" <sup>1.</sup>

Tertullian gives some strong evidence upon this side of the question. He says that when Peter cut off Malchus' ear, Jesus cursed the sword for ever. <sup>2.</sup> In this same case he says that "Christ, by disarming Peter, disarmed every soldier". <sup>3.</sup> "He comes closer to the real ground of the Christian antipathy to war when, after quoting the words of Psalm XLV: 3-f -- 'Gird (the) sword upon (thy) thigh . . . . extend and prosper and reign, on account of truth and gentleness and justice' -- as applying to Christ, he goes on: 'Who shall produce these (results) with the sword, and not rather those which are contrary to gentleness and justice, (namely) deceit and harshness and injustice, (which are) of course the proper business of battles?'" <sup>4.</sup> "'Can a soldier's life be lawful,'" asks Tertullian in another place, "'when Christ has pronounced that he who lives by the sword shall perish by the sword? Can any one who possesses the peaceable doctrine of the gospel, be a soldier, when it is his duty not so much as to go to law? And shall he who is not to revenge his own wrongs, be instrumental in bringing others into chains, imprisonment, torture, death?'" <sup>5.</sup> "Hippolytus' view of war comes out of his

1. Cadoux, pg 404.

3. Dymond, pg 86.

5. Dymond, pg 84.

2. Ibid, pg 404 & Above, pg 18-f.

4. Cadoux, pg 404 & note # 6.



explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. 'The wild beasts, which lived under it' (i.e. the tree), 'signify the warriors and armies, which adhered to the king, carrying out what was commanded (them), being ready like wild beasts for making war and destroying, and for rending men like wild beasts.'" 1. "Cyprian declaims about the 'wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror of camps. The world is wet with mutual blood(shed): and homicide is a crime, when individuals commit it, (but) it is called a virtue, when it is carried on publicly. Not the method of innocence, but the magnitude of savagery, procures impunity for crimes.' He censures the vanity and deceitful pomp of the military office." 2.

These last few pages may be notable for their plentiful contradictions. One writer says one thing only to turn around and apparently say exactly the opposite. But of a truth these apparent contradictions are consistencies. Many of the writers, and Tertullian in particular, in writing to the heathens boasted of the Christians in the army. This does not mean that the writer was in favor of militarism. The only thing it can mean is that Christians were to be found in the army, and the writer used that fact to gain another point. It does not mean that the writer approved of Christians serving in the army. It was impossible for any of the writers to express their whole opinion upon the subject every time it was mentioned. And especially was that true where their honest opinion of pacifism would harm them with their audience, as it would when they were writing to the heathens.

---

1. Cadoux, pg 404.

2. Ibid, pg 405.



Though we have not spoken of it at any length, there is, beginning with this period, a tendency to object to the military calling on the ground that one could not be a soldier without becoming an idolater. The Emperor worship that was required of the soldiers made idolatry inescapable. Each soldier was required to pledge allegiance to Caesar and offer a sacrifice to the emperor occasionally. Of an assurty this would be a sufficient ground for Christians to refuse military service, but in truth it is overlooking the greater and more real objection -- that of the immorality of killing contrasted with the righteousness of loving and serving. We can not say that Tertullian or any of the other great writers of this period based their objections to the soldiery upon this argument of idolatry. Their argument against the army was that Christians could not use the sword -- couldnot kill their fellow man. We shall have more to say upon this matter of idolatry below.

A new bit of evidence comes to light now under the writings of Hippolytus, that is, assuming that his writings form the basis of the "Canons of Hippolytus". There is room for doubt as to the exact origin of these Canons,<sup>1.</sup> but for all practical purposes we may assume that they are either directly or indirectly a product of the work of Hippolytus. Another document that we may consider in parallel with this is the "Egyptian Church Order". Though we find that neither of these documents is absolutely rigorous in its prohibition of the Christians from taking part in the military life, they both exhibit the fact that they have undergone modifications and alterations. Historical critics have

1. Cadoux, pg 288-ff; and 438-ff.





well established the fact that the alterations of these writings have been in the direction of leniency. Thus we can be sure that originally these Canons were more rigorous in their pronouncements against war than they were in the form with which we are familiar. We also have "The Testament of our Lord", which belongs to the same group and which also bears out the fact that the alterations of the former documents were in the direction of leniency. Quoting from Cadoux's notes on Dr. Moffatt we see that The Testament of our Lord, " . . . definitely suggests that Christian scruples about the taint of bloodshed appear in ecclesiastical rules for the first time after Constantine's removal of the difficulty over idolatry. True, the extant documents are not earlier than the fourth century; but Dr. Moffatt ignores the now pretty generally recognized fact that these regulations go back in the main to the Church-Order of Hippolytus, in the first decades of the third century, and that their most rigid stipulations would naturally be the oldest in the collection. To speak of 'a feeling abroad in certain circles' (after Constantine's triumph) 'which led up to the' (pacifist) 'attitude adopted in the later Canons of Hippolytus and Testament of our Lord, not earlier than the end of the fourth century' is to give in my (Cadoux's) opinion, an incorrect version of the facts. The relaxations introduced into later versions of the Church-Orders not only present 'the normal temper of the Church' of that time in distinction from contemporary extremists, but also the progressive abandonment of earlier moral purity and sensitiveness, under the influence of that corroding worldiness which the triumph



Constantine did so much to spread and confirm. When we realize that the stringent prohibition of military life for Christians, which is found in the oldest Church-Orders, represents in all probability the views of a churchman of so early a date and so great an influence as Hippolytus, we shall be disposed to challenge statements like those of Dr. Moffatt that 'neither then nor afterwards did the Church ever decline to baptize a soldier, or to allow him to remain in the army', and of Professor Ramsay that 'the Church as a whole never sanctioned this prohibition, or called on its converts to abandon the ranks or on its adherents to refuse to enter them'". 1. According to these Church-Orders a soldier could not be baptized unless he was first willing to leave the army, and a Church member could not become a soldier and remain a member of the Church. Important sections of these Church-Orders are to be found below. 2.

Before leaving this subject, we must give more attention to one of the greatest apologists of this period, Origen. Origen is among those who were most clear and definite upon this matter of pacifism. "After pointing out how God had providentially prepared the nations for the Gospel by means of the imperial Pax Romana, in place of the incessant wars that had preceded it, he goes on: 'How would it have been possible for this pacific teaching, which does not even allow (men) to take vengeance on (the ir) enemies, to prevail, unless at the appearance of Jesus the world's affairs had changed everywhere into a milder state?' Later, 'if a revolt had been the cause of the Christians' com-

1. Cadoux, note # 3, pg 430.

2. Below, pg



bining, and if they had derived their origin from the Jews, to whom it was allowed to take arms on behalf of the(ir) families and to destroy their enemies, the Lawgiver of the Christians would not have altogether forbidden the destruction of man, teaching that the deed of daring against a man on the part of his own disciples, however unrighteous that (man) may be, is never right -- for he did not deem it becoming to his own Divine legislation to allow the killing of any man whatever." 1.

It seems that there is a great deal of misunderstanding around the interpretation of Origen's meanings. It is beyond our purpose here to try to adjust this misunderstanding. We feel that the evidence cited speaks for itself, and if the reader is interested, there is an abundance of material for further reference. 2.

Something more ought to be said, too, about the extent to which Christians refused military service. The ancient Churchmen were divided in opinion and practice respecting the profession of arms. Some followed it, but others submitted even to a violent death rather than enter the service of the army. Tertullian wrote a treatise in commendation of soldiers who refused to wear a military chaplet, as savouring of idolatry and inconsistent with the Christian profession. In this treatise, he asserts the unlawfulness of a military life and of wearing a soldier's chaplet. "Christians ought rather to wear their master's crown of thorns, in order thereby to obtain the crown of life." 3. In the year 211 A.D. we note that Tertullian said

- 
1. Cadoux, pg 424. 2. Refer to Cadoux, pg 434-ff.  
3. Coleman, pg 87. Refer to Bibliography.





that many soldiers had left the service immediately after conversion or baptism. We also note in the various Church-Orders that Christians were not allowed to serve in the army under any circumstances. Origen speaks as though he did not know of any Christians in the army, saying, "We do not serve as soldiers with him" (the Emperor) "even though he require (us to do so)." There is no evidence that would prove there were any soldiers among the Christians in Origen's part of the world. On occasions we know it was considered an advance to have Christians in the army, under the pretext that it was showing the power of Christ in the devil's camp. The evidence before us shows that it was still, even near the close of the third century, the greatest practice to abstain from military service. Enlistment was still carried on in about the same manner as in the previous periods, according to the evidence available, the enlistment was practically always voluntary. This would not necessitate Christians joining the army under compulsion; and we can hardly expect to find Christians joining of their own free will when it was so greatly against the moral opinion of their special group. In some cases we see that Christians in the army were not greatly penalized by the Church, which was the case in northwest Africa; yet this by no means indicate that the rightness of their position was taken for granted. The Christian soldiers were placed under the obligation of justifying themselves, which justification we have considered above and found it to be rather flimsy. The significant thing for us to realize is that the writers of this period who did the most in upholding the Christian position of refusing to serve in the army were at the same time the keenest and sanest of all early



Christian thinkers. We should also note that these writers share only in a very limited and modified way the orthodox views of the Church of their day in regards to the eschatological idea. 1.

We noted, in our consideration of the previous period, that the Christians' attitude toward gladiatorial shows had some bearing upon their general militaristic attitude. The same is probably true of this period. In the previous period we found nothing but solid abhorance of this bloody amusement; but here we find the first traces of evidence that Christians were in attendance at the amphitheatre, and, with this, the discussion of its propriety for Christians. We have previously referred to passages that question how Christians could shed blood when they do not even look upon bloodshed, which was a reference to their abstinence from the games. They also objected to the games because of their disapproval of the levity and immorality which went on there. An equally great objection was that of the danger of coming in contact with idolatry -- an objection which we have previously met in considering military service. Along with the general trend of moral laxity, it is not surprising to find that the less scrupulous of the Christians were beginning to attend the theatres. We can be sure that this attendance at the gladiatorial shows was not very wide-spread among the Christians; yet it was sufficiently so that it came up for consideration in the Canons of Hippolytus, which directs that no gladiator was to be admitted to Christian instruction unless he was first purified from his unclean work. 2. The Egyptian Church-Order contains a corresponding

---

1. Cadoux, pg 440.

2. Cadoux, pg 442, and note # 3; refer below to pg



section. We also have some evidence from the epitaphs of the imperial officer Marcus Aurelius Prosenes, to whom we have previously referred. One inscription tells us that he was superintendent of the Emperor's gladiatorial games, and another informs us that at least by the time of his death he was a Christian. <sup>1.</sup> Though this evidence of the gladiatorial games may have an indirect bearing upon the Christians' attitude toward war, we can not be too dogmatic in asserting that the attendance of Christians at the games means that their scruples against bloodshed had broken down to the extent that they did not object to war.

This age of the Great Thinkers has proven to be very complicated. It is hard to point to any one definite strain of thought that would be characteristic of the whole period. One might easily receive the impression that the Church was at this early date divided against itself. That would be an entirely false impression. On the whole, the weight of evidence favoring war is relatively light. We have noted a considerable number of Christians in the army, but that number was an insignificant minority of the professing Christians. We have given this negative evidence an attention quite out of proportion to its position in the Christian world in an attempt to discover the situation that lay behind it. We found that much consideration was given to the relatively few cases of Christian soldiers because the matter was of great concern to the Church, and not because the majority of Christians held no conscience against war. We shall see that later, when the Christians held no conscience against war and began to join the army in greater numbers, the protest, from the remaining Christians

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 440-ff.





who held war to be incompatible with Christianity, was greatly diminished.

The subject of War received so much and so varied attention in this period of the Great Thinkers, not because a great majority of the Christians were entering the army, but because a few of them were breaking over the Christian standard and ideal in joining the army and thus creating a fresh and vital problem in the minds of the Church leaders.



## CHAPTER VI

## THE BEGINNING OF COMPROMISE IN THE CHURCH

250-313 A.D.

In the period from 250 to 313 A.D. we find many exhortations to peacefulness as we do in the other periods. Several writers tell us that peace has been much more abundant upon the earth since the coming of Christ. Commodianus exhorts the Christians to: "Make thyself a peacemaker to all men." It is recorded that the martyr Lucianus told his judge that one of the laws laid down by Christ was that Christians should "be zealous for peace". This ideal of peace was meant to extend throughout the universe, but it was not always possible to remain at peace with the outside world. This impossibility was recognized; but if a breach of the peace occurred in the Church, it was considered a deep reproach and disgrace.

On the whole, any contact the Christians had with the imperial soldiers was not likely to be favorable. They probably saw nothing but the degrading atmosphere and character that went with the army. The soldiers stood for all of the roughness, coarseness and violence of that time, and it is highly improbable that Christians, who had peacefulness and love as their (at least superficial) goal found anything good or admirable in the soldiers. Christians would hardly be attracted into the army because of any of the advantages that might be offered for these advantages were never apparent amid the ugliness of the army that was foremost



in their minds. Of course we must remember that there were a few incidents of chivalry and courtesy shown by the soldiers, as we saw in our discussion of the previous period. It was not unknown for soldiers to be suddenly converted at scenes of persecution. We also have several records of Christians receiving safe escort and courteous treatment at the hands of the soldiers. 1.

Another thing we must not fail to notice is the attitude toward the Biblical and historical wars. It seems to have been orthodox to consider the Old Testament just as divinely inspired as the New Testament, though the great difference between these two writings was never successfully bridged. The Marcionites, who were beginning to come into some prominence now, had quite a strong feeling against war. They were never able to reconcile the great ethical contrast between the Old and New Testaments. They solved the problem by ascribing the Old Testament to an inferior deity. The idea of war as divine punishment still prevailed, and the Jewish war of 66-70 A.D. was pointed to as a great example of this concept. Such an attitude toward the Old Testament could not help but have some effect, either directly or indirectly, upon the pacific positions of these Christians.

Much of the literature of this period is noticable for its use of militaristic figures of speech. "Christians are Christ's soldiers; Christ is the imperator; the Church is his camp; baptism is the sacramentum; heretics and schismatics are rebels and deserters." 2. Military phrases are freely employed in the

---

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 565-f.      2. Cadoux, pg 568.





description of Christian trials and achievements, but we can not infer from them just what the writer's attitude was on the problem of war and peace. Cadoux tells us that "It is significant that the word 'pagan' which later became a common term for non-Christians, meant, strictly speaking, 'civilian' as opposed to 'soldier', and the development of its usage indicates how strongly the idea of the Christian as the soldier par excellence had permeated the mind of Latin Christianity." <sup>1.</sup> The Christian life was commonly looked upon as a bit of spiritual warfare, and the military figures of speech naturally assisted in these descriptions. This did not destroy the spiritual significance of the illustration for the early Christians.

Let us now consider a few direct approvals of war on the part of Christianity. At the outset, we must say that these considerations do not make any exact or definite pronouncement upon the Christians' practical duty in war, but are only generalities. This evidence is quite complicated, and we can not do better than quote a part of the situation as Cadoux presents it. "The martyr Typasius is represented as saying to Maximanus; 'If thou release me to serve Christ, thou shalt conquer those barbarians without a struggle; and within these forty days, victory shall be announced, not only from the East and the Gauls, but from Britania and Egypt.' Next day, many of the Barbarians are slaughtered; and the rest sue for peace. Lactantius says that God made man naked and unarmed, because he could be armed by his talent and clothed by his reason. He blames Epicurus for his policy of being all things to all men, by virtue of which

1. Cadoux, pg 569.



he forbade the timid man to serve as a soldier. He counts the loss of military discipline among the disasters of the days of Antichrist." 1.

It apparently had now become a part of the Christian's duty to pray for the soldiers and for the emperor. These prayers were for more than the spiritual well being of the soldiers -- they were prayers for their success in battle and for their protection against the enemy while in battle. Achatius describes the Christian prayers in this manner: "'We pray continually for him' (the Emperor) 'that he. . . may rule the people with just power and pass the time of his reign in peace, then for the safety of the soldiers and the stability of the world.' 'We always ask and pour out our prayers,' says Cyprian, 'for the repulse of enemies, for the obtaining of rain, and for the removal or moderation of troubles; and we pray constantly for your peace and safety, propitiating and appeasing God day and night.'" 2. If the Christian conscience was strong against war, it is hard to see how they could earnestly and sincerely pray for the success of the armies. They might well pray for the safety of all, and for universal peace, but not for the success of their side, thus lending at least mental support to the cause against which their conscience objected. This matter of praying for the army in one form or another is evidence of the breakdown of the strict moral standard in the Church. It would be impossible for the people themselves to see that such was the case, much the same as it was impossible for us not so long ago to see that it was against our ideals to pray for our army in the World

1. Cadoux, pg 571-ff.

2. Cadoux, pg 572.



War and ask God to aid our soldiers in killing the enemy. As we look back over the situation, we can see that their praying for the army simply opened the way for their conscience to be dulled upon the matter, and it soon was completely coated over with the worldly attitude. Instead of staying at home and praying for the army, they soon were on the battle field praying that they might better yield their sword and send more of their enemies home to death.

We have an abundance of evidence at hand showing that there were Christians in the imperial armies. We are informed through Dionysius that there were some soldiers among the martyrs in the Decian persecution which took place in 250 A.D. 1. We have an account of the martyrdom ten years later when peace had been restored by the Edict of Gallienus of a Christian military officer named Marinus, who seems to have been a man of wealth and

1. Cadoux, pg 573 and note # 3: "The passage occurs in Dionysius' letter to Domitius and Didymus, which can be proved to refer to the persecution of Decius, . . . . In the course of the Decian persecution at Alexandria, a soldier named Besas rebuked the crowd that insulted the martyrs on the way to execution. He was immediately challenged, was arraigned as a Christian, confessed, and was beheaded; also a squad of five soldiers, present at the trial of a Christian, attracted attention by making violent gestures of anxiety when the accused threatened to deny his faith, and then rushed before the tribunal and confessed themselves Christians. The governor as well as his council, was amazed, but seems to have ordered them executed. . . . . Harnack infers . . . . that Christianity must have been very widely spread in the army in Egypt, as there could have been no idea of picking Christian soldiers for this particular task. . . . ."

"We can not be sure how much or how little historical truth is embodied in the martyr-acts of Polyeuctes, an officer in the Legio Fulminata at Melitene on the Upper Euphrates. He is said to have been beheaded for refusing to sacrifice in obedience to a persecuting edict of 'Decius and Valerianus' (!), though he had not previously professed himself a Christian." These things are mentioned by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, 247-265 A.D., and are recorded by Eusebius in his "Ecclesiastical History" written between 305 and 314 A.D.





position and some military distinction. He was about to be promoted to the rank of centurian in filling a vacancy, when a rival candidate objected, saying that it was not lawful for Marinus to receive the honor because he was a Christian and would not sacrifice to the Emperor. It followed that Marinus was brought before the judge, admitted the accusation, and was sentenced and beheaded in short order. This shows that Christianity was not tolerated among the officers of the army, and also that there were some existing regulations upon the matter. We also find evidence which shows that the number of Christian officers and soldiers gradually increased after the reign of Gallienus to the extent that the military authorities began to make allowances for the Christians and looked on silently while they made the sign of the cross at the sacrifices. 1.

We have an account of the martyrdom in the year 295 A.D. of Maximilianus, a young Christian who refused to enter the legion. The procounsel of Africa tried to persuade him to join, showing him examples of other Christians already in the army, but he refused, receiving the penalty of death. We shall mention this case later, but refer to it here to show the presence of Christians in the army as the procounsel pointed out. 2.

About this time we note that the law requiring military officers to sacrifice was rather dormant. This, along with other situations, tended to make the legitimacy of military service for Christians a highly debatable point, and consequently we find the Synod of Illiberis silent upon the subject. We know that

1. Cadoux, pg 574.

2. See below, pg



in the closing years of the third century, Galerius attempted to compel the Christians in the army to desert their faith, and he used all manner of abuse and violence to accomplish this task. Eusebius informs us that in about 299 A.D. a general by the name of Veturius attempted to purge his troops of all Christians, and as a result, a great number retired and a few were put to death. 1.

"Under Caius Galerious Maximina, son-in-law of Diocletian, a legion of six hundred and sixty-six Christians, quietly withdrew and remonstrated. Upon which every tenth man throughout the legion was put to death without resistance. The commander of the legion, with his sword dyed in the blood of his soldiers who had been slain at his side exhorted the survivors to remain steadfast, and these, in answer to the renewed order of Caesar acknowledged their readiness to obey when the laws of Christianity did not forbid, and concluded saying, 'Know thou that we all are Christians: our bodies we yield subject to your power; our souls we reserve entire for Christ, the author and the Saviour of them.'

"Enraged by this reply, he immediately ordered a second decimation. The surviving officers then returned answer: 'We, O Emperor, are your soldiers, but withal the servants of God. To you we owe military life; to him, innocency. From you we have received wages for our service; from him, our being and our lives. It is not despair that sustains our resolution. We have arms, but offer no resistance, choosing rather to die innocent than live rebellious and revengeful. If you appoint

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 574-ff.



us to greater sufferings, we are ready for them. Christians ourselves, we can not persecute them that are also Christians. The bravery of our legion you must acknowledge. We lay down our arms, and bend our necks to the sword of the executioner. He will find our right hands disarmed, but our breasts armed with a true Christian faith.' They were immediately devoted to death, and died without resistance, with their arms at their feet." 1.

Thus we have the story of the famous Thebian legion. There are many variations of this story. Some narrators say that the legion comprised six thousand, six hundred soldiers. It is difficult to believe that such an enormous number of men were slaughtered at one time, especially since we have accounts of martyrs from this same legion at several other places. There probably was only one cohort of the legion in this group martyrdom.

There are equally as many variations in the reasons given for the legion or cohort's refusing to fight and thus receiving such drastic punishment. The best information indicates that they refused to turn their swords upon a certain group of people, either defenseless shepherds and farmers, or a group of fellow Christians. Though there apparently is a lack of established fact in the incident, and though the whole matter has been greatly enlarged through tradition, we can be sure that there is some truth in it. We can believe that some such event did take place, and thus we have good evidence of Christians in the army, and a characteristic exposition of their ethical and moral position.

In 302 A.D., Diocletian, who was in the East, was disturbed

1. Coleman, pg 87-f.





by unfavorable omens at his sacrifices. These omens were interpreted to him as meaning the undesirable presence of Christians in the army. He gave orders for a general persecution, not only of the officers but of the soldiers as well. When the persecution actually began, the soldiers bore the brunt of it. We have several stories about this persecution. One of the martyrs was named Julius who had served twenty-seven years, been seven times in battle and had a good record. One Christian soldier had been martyred before him and a third met the same fate after him. Cadoux gives us a long list of martyrs to which we can refer the reader. 1.

The several volumes on The Lives of the Saints afford us numerous accounts of Christian soldiers of this period who were considered saints. It will perhaps be worth our while to present a few of these cases of Saint-Soldiers.

Saint Polychronius (A.D. 251) was Bishop of Babylon, and he, with some of his clergy, was captured by Decius, the whole group being ordered to sacrifice to the emperor. They refused to do so and were put in prison. While there another attempt was made to induce them to sacrifice, but to no avail. Decius did not like some of the answers they gave, and in anger he ordered the tongues of the clergy to be cut out. As for Polychronius, his mouth was beaten in with stones, and he died under this punishment with his eyes lifted up to heaven. The tradition of this story indicates that Polychronius was in some way or another connected with the army. 2.

---

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 577.

2. Lives of the Saints, Volume February, pg 319. See Bibliography.



Saint Hippolytus (A.D. 258). There are several stories about this martyr, but that in the Acts, which seems to be the most likely, tells us that he was a soldier in the service of Laurence. He was charged with burying the body of S. Laurence, which was a Christian custom, and was brought before Decius and accused. He confessed his Christian faith, saying he had now found a higher obedience than that of the emperor. His old nurse was beaten to death with leaded whips, and Hippolytus was tied to the tails of horses and dashed over stones and through thickest of brambles till he died. 1.

Saint Andrew (A.D. 303) was a tribune in the army sent against the Persians. After their victory, the general ordered a sacrifice to the immortal gods. Andrew and his companions refused to participate, and their hands were ordered pierced with nails and their heads cut off. Tradition has exaggerated the number of companions with S. Andrew, saying that there were two thousand, five hundred and ninety-seven men with him who also suffered martyrdom. There may have been a considerable number with him, but probably not this many. 2.

Saint Luxorius (A.D. 303) was a soldier in the imperial army. In some manner he had acquired a psalter and enjoyed reading it. He had a rather strange conversion story, and being accused of his Christian convictions, along with two little boys who were still in their white baptismal garmets, he strongly professed Christ. He was bound to a post and scourged, but sang during the infliction. The two boys standing by took heart and courage.

---

1. Lives of the Saints, Volume August, pg 129.

2. Ibid, pg 177.



All three were shortly sentenced to death by the sword. 1.

Saint Theodore of Heraclea (A.D. 319) was a general in the army of Licinus and Governor of Marindyna. He was sentenced to death for his Christian convictions -- presumably upon his refusal to worship the emperor -- and was scourged, torn by hooks, burned with fire, for a short while attached to a cross, and then beheaded. 2.

The long list of these soldier-saints and their deeds and punishments is not only gruesome, but tiresome, and we will let these suffice for illustrations. All of these saints were soldiers, and most all of them suffered martyrdom because of their refusal to offer sacrifice and worship the emperor rather than because of their pacifistic ideas, though it is far from the truth to say that they had no scruples against war and killing men. 3.

In this same connection there is a rather lengthy story of a mother who wished her son to be like one of the soldier-saints. This story is perhaps the best illustration we can give of the decline of pacifism among the laity. This story is told in connection with the martyrdom of S. Varus, and it goes well to show the decline of the high Christian standard.

"Now there was at the time a Christian woman of Syria, named Cleopatra, and she secured the body of Varus by night and buried it under her bed. And after a few days she removed it, concealed in a bale of wool, and went to her own place, Syria, at the foot of Mount Tabor, and there she laid the body in the

---

1. Lives of the Saints, Volume August, pg 221.

2. Ibid, Vol. February, pg 190.

3. Ibid, Vol. August, pg 225.





tomb of her ancestors, with lights and incense. Now the fame of the martyr was spread throughout the neighborhood by the servants of Cleopatra, who had assisted her in bringing the body out of Egypt, and many people brought their sick to the tomb in hopes of a cure. So passed several years.

"After a while Cleopatra's son, aged seventeen, was about to go to the imperial court and enter the army. Cleopatra, desirous of his advancement, resolved to show the highest honor to S. Varus, and obtain him as a patron for her son. She therefore sold a portion of her possessions, and built a splendid Church. Now when the Church was completed, she called together all the bishops and monks of the neighborhood, and drew the body from her father's tomb and laid it on a bier, wrapped in linen and spices, and she and her son bore the relics on their shoulders to the new Church and laid them under the altar. Then mass was said with psalmody and many lights; and when the service was over, Cleopatra bowed her face over the dead saint's relics, and prayed, saying: 'I pray thee by thy crown and patience, entreat the Lord that He may show my son the same honour that I have laboured to show to thee. I pray thee obtain for my son health and advancement with the emperor. I pray thee remember that I have honoured thee above my husband and my servants and my wealth.'

"Then going forth from the Church, she made a great banquet for all who had attended the dedication of her Church and the translation of the relics, and she and her son served the guests with their own hands. And she and he had eaten nothing. 'It will suffice us,' said Cleopatra, 'to eat the scraps when all are satisfied.'



"Now when evening came, the boy fell feverish and ill.

And she said unto him, as he lay on a couch, ' Rise, my son; all are gone, and now we have time for eating'. But he scarce answered her, and could not raise his heavy head. Then she went to him and kissed him on the eyes, and said: 'My boy, I did all this for your health; now I pray you get up and eat, for you have fasted all day and have worked very hard.'

"But he was not able. Then his mother flung her arms around him and wailed, 'As God lives, I will not eat a mouthful till I see what will become of my only son.' And she took him on her lap and held him to her heart till midnight, and he died on her bosom. Then she rose and carried him to the Church and laid him before the altar, and clung to it with both her hands, and prayed: 'O what reward is this that is given me! O what hard measure is meted out to me who have all I could! Give me back my orphan boy, that he may be my comfort. Give him back to me, or I will beat out my brains on these hard stones. Pray God to restore to me my only child; give him back to me, or take me out of this misery. I can not bear my pain.'

"And all the people who had assembled wept with her, for the boy was very beautiful and amiable. And the day dawned and glided by, the agonized woman still clinging in her desperation to the altar, before which lay her child, and the priests stood apart: they feared to attempt to console her, for her despair was past human consolation.

"About the middle of the next night she laid her head on the breast of her dead son, exhausted with weeping and want of food, and fell asleep. Then she saw Saint Varus standing clothed in



light, and holding her son by the hand. And she started forward in her dream and caught Varus by the foot with one hand, and her boy by the foot with the other hand, and looked up and tried to speak, but her voice failed her. Then said Varus, 'Have I forgotten all the love thou hast shown me? Did I forget to pray to God that He would give health and promotion to thy son? And lo! He has answered my prayer. He has given him health and eternal life, and promoted him to follow in the armies of the Lamb, whithersoever He goeth.'

"'I am content,' sobbed the mother. 'But I pray thee, now, take me away also, that I may be with my boy and you.'

"But he answered, 'Not so; lay thy son at my side, and tarry till the time is come, and then we will fetch thee.'

"So she awoke and told her dream.

"Then she hastened to bury her boy beside Varus. And the women said, 'Put on him his military suit of clothes thou hast prepared for him, or the sight will give thee renewed pain.' But she would not.

"And after seven years Cleopatra died, and rejoined her son in Paradise." 1.

Thus we have a general picture of the extent of military service in this day. We can be certain that the armies of Constantine contained more Christian soldiers than the armies of any of the other emperors. This fact was probably due to the leniency of the western emperor. Eusebius would give us to understand that the whole of the Melitenian legion had been Christian since 170 A.D., and he regarded military service as permissible --

1. Lives of the Saints, Volume October, pg 480-ff.





like business and family life -- to the Christian layman with his second-grade morality. Later he indicates that he felt this inferior standard of morality to be more human and practical.

Here comes a striking change in our evidence. Just before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, the troops of Constantine witnessed the professed adherence of their leader to Christianity, and they actually bore the sign of the cross on their shields and standards in that battle. The soldiers joined in the bloodshed of the battle, and undoubtedly joined in their leader's boast that they had won by the virtue of the sign of the cross. We also know that Licinus, in his campaign against Daia, enlisted Christian sympathy, and he prescribed for his men prayers that were at least Christian in atmosphere. His victory naturally attracted great Christian sympathy and support. We can not tell how far Christian soldiers were responsible for the great massacres, tortures, and murders that marred the triumphs. Later Licinus fell back into paganism and required his men to sacrifice to the emperor or be degraded and dismissed. We know that the final war between Licinius and Constantine was actually a war between paganism and Christianity, and the result was a decisive victory for the latter. 1.

There are no definite figures available that show us just how great the tendency was for Christians to serve in the army in this period. We can rely only upon inferences and generalizations. Our information is given to us in terms of 'some' and

---

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 573 to 580.



'many'. It is beyond our ability to interpret these indefinite words into exact quantities, and in concluding this part of our subject, we want to refer to the more authoritative views of Cadoux. "It is clear that there were more soldiers in the armies at the end than in the middle of the third century, and that Constantine's accession to power increased the number still further. it is possible that before the persecution there was a large percentage of Christians in the troops of Constantine than in those of the southern and eastern Emperors, though of this we can not be sure. It is, doubtless, true that there were many soldiers in the legions of Diocletian and Galerius around about 300 A.D.; but what does 'many' mean? Figures are, of course, out of our reach; but when we consider that these two Emperors endeavored to cleanse their whole army of Christians, we can not imagine that the percentage could have been very high. No sovereign really ever deprives himself of a tenth, or even of a twentieth part, of his military power. As we shall see presently, Christian opinion, even at this date, contrary to the usual idea, was still very far from being unanimous as to the propriety of military service for Christians; and some caution is needed in accepting some of the phrases in which the state of affairs is at times described." 1.

"In order rightly to appraise the Christian view of war, account has to be taken first of all of the sensitiveness of Christian moral feeling on the subject of homicide and bloodshed, though it is not legitimate to infer from such feelings that

---

1. Cadoux, pg 580.



those who express them necessarily held that Christians must not take part in war, unless the author indicates explicitly -- as, for instance, Lactantius and the author or editor of the Egyptian Church-Order do -- that they draw such an inference themselves. The same is true in its own way of the numerous utterances in which war is spoken of by Christians as one of the chief crimes and calamities of the human race. These utterances create an undoubted presumption in favor of a strong aversion on moral grounds, from military life; but they do not of themselves commit the speaker to an abstention from the use of arms in all cases." 1.

In our consideration of some of the persecutions inflicted upon Christians in the army, we have simultaneously considered some evidences of Christians refusing to serve in the army and withdrawing therefrom. Some of these objections to military service on the part of Christians were due to the requirement of sacrificing to heathen gods. The matter of killing and shedding blood apparently did not enter into the problem for some of the Christians; yet it would be only a half truth if we did not say that many of them objected to war solely on this ground of bloodshed and not merely because of the idolatry involved. We have two kinds of evidence to which we shall refer -- the expressed sentiments of Christians and the actual records of Christians refusing service in the army.

Cyprian very seriously condemned war, but he never, in so many words, said whether a Christian might or might not serve in

---

1. Cadoux, pg 565.





the army. We can not tell whether he followed the thoughts of his teacher, Tertullian, in this matter or not. Arnobius speaks as if it had always been the traditional policy to abstain from warfare. His comment may be a little drawn out, but it is worth our condideration. "For since we -- so great a force of men -- have received (it) from his teachings and laws that evil ought not to be repaid with evil, that it is preferable to suffer an injury rather than inflict it, to pour out one's own (blood) rather than stain one's hands and conscience with the blood of another, the ungrateful world has not for a long time (enjoyed) a benefit from Christ, in as much as through him the madness of ferocity has been softened, and has begun to withhold (its) hostile hands from the blood of a kindred creature. But if absolutely all, who understand that they are men by virtue not of the form of their bodies, but of the power of their reason, would be willing to give ear for a little to his wholesome and peaceful decrees, and would not, swollen with pride and arrogance, trust to their own senses, rather than to his admonitions, the whole world would long ago have turned the use of iron into gentler works and be living in the softer tranquillity and would be coming together into wholesome concord, maintaining inviolate the sacred obligations of treaties." 1.

Lactantius expresses much of the same thought, though perhaps in a stronger manner; saying in one place, "When God prohibits killing, He not only forbids us to commit brigandage, which is not allowed even by the public laws, but he warns (us) not to

1. Cadoux, pg 582.



do even those things which are regarded as legal among men. And so it will not be lawful for a man to serve as a soldier -- for justice itself is his military service -- not to accuse any one of a capital offense, because it makes no difference whether thou kill with a sword or with a word, since killing itself is forbidden. And so, in this commandment of God, no exception at all ought to be made (to the rule) that it is always wrong to kill a man, whom God has wished to be (regarded as) a sacrosanct creature." 1. This writer does not claim or suggest that there are no soldiers in the army. His language indicates that he is objecting to the presence of some Christians in the army. We can also say that he does not sound as though he was expressing his own private feelings but rather as though he had the authority of a large group, if not the majority of the Christians, behind him.

We can hardly expect to find very many cases of Christians refusing to serve in the army, for we recall that it was a very infrequent thing to find a man pressed into military service against his will. This would seldom cause a civilian to find himself in a position where he would have to refuse military service on account of his objections as a Christian. He might well object to military service, but he would never have any cause to make a public statement of his objections. It is also true that the humanitarian ideal of the Christian held more sway with the civilian than with the soldier who was used to the hardness and cruelties of war. The Christian, who objected

1. Cadoux, pg 583.



to military service, was not forced to join the army, and naturally he would not join of his own accord. Thus the civilian who did not have any occasion for objecting strenuously did object, and the Christian soldier, to whose lot it fell to make most of the objections that come to our attention at this distant time, evidently did not have any great objections to war or he would not have been in the army.

Even with these considerations, we find a few cases in point. We have already cited some evidence of soldiers leaving the army when they became Christians. The martyr Marcellus said in his last words to his judge: "I threw down (my arms); for it was not seemly that a Christian man, who renders military service to the Lord Christ, should render it (also) by inflicting earthly injuries." Another soldier, Tarachus, says, "Because I was a Christian, I have now chosen to be a civilian." 1. It can hardly be doubted that the words of these two witnesses refer to the objection of shedding blood, and not to offering sacrifices or to contamination by contact with the heathens. The witness of one, Maximilian, whom we have mentioned above, is still more pointed in this matter. "Maximilian, as it is related in the Acts of Ruinart, was brought before the tribunal to be enrolled as a soldier. On the proconsul's asking his name, Maximilian replied, 'I am a Christian, and can not fight.' It was, however, ordered that he should be enrolled, but he refused to serve, still alleging that he was a Christian. He was immediately told that there was no alternative between bearing arms

---

1. Cadoux, pg 584-f/





and being put to death. But his fidelity was not to be shaken, -- 'I can not fight,' said he. The proconsul asked him who had persuaded him to this conduct; 'My own mind,' said the Christian, 'and He who has called me'. It was once more attempted to shake his resolution by appealing to his youth" (for he was but twenty one years of age) "and to the glory of the profession, but in vain; -- 'I can not fight,' said he, 'for any earthly consideration.' He continued steadfast to his principles, sentence was pronounced upon him, and he was led to execution." 1.

Coleman relates a somewhat similar story: "It is related of a young man in Numidia, before the persecution under Dioclesian (A.D. 296) that he refused to take the military oath: 'strike off my head; I fight not for this world, but for my God.' 'Who has advised you thus?' said the proconsul. 'My heart and He that called me'. 'But you must take the soldier's badge.' 'I bear the badge of Christ, my God.' 'I will soon send you, then, to your God. ' 'Would that you might; but that will reflect no honor upon you.' The proconsul then attempted by force to invest him with the soldier's badge. 'I can not wear it: I have taken the badge of the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, whom you know not, who died for our salvation, an offering for our sins. Him, we Christians serve as the Prince of life, the Captain of our salvation.' 'Enlist in this service, that you die not miserably.' 'I shall not die; my name is with the Lord'. 'But there are Christians in Caesar's army, good and faithful soldiers.' 'They know what they ought to do, and must judge for themselves;



but I am a Christian, and can not consent to do evil.' 'What evil do soldiers commit?' 'You know well what they do: but I shall not die; when I leave this world, my soul will be with the Lord.' As he received the sentence of death, he exclaimed, 'God be praised!' and begged his father standing by, to present the military uniform which he had prepared for him to his own executioner." 1.

These illustrations afford us a clear picture of the position of Christians, both in and out of the army, in regard to the matter of war. True, there was a considerable number of Christian soldiers, as the proconsul pointed out, but we also see that when civilian Christians were pressed into military service, they objected even at the penalty of death. The young man in the last illustration suggests that there some very plain rules and regulations prohibiting Christians from serving in the army. He indicates that the Christians in the army had not held fast to the true Christian principle, but that they would have to judge for themselves in that matter.

Our previous consideration holds here, that the civilian Christians were the ones who objected to war and not the Christian soldiers. Whenever a Christian civilian was forced to join the army, as was very rarely the case, we find evidence of this objection. Otherwise, there is no immediate cause for the expression of this objection, save in a general way to persuade the Christian soldiers to leave the army.

The Christians of this period condemned the gladiatorial

---

1. Coleman, pg 87-f.



shows as did the Christians of the previous periods. This condemnation was based for the most part on the waste of money, idolatry, idleness, and the obscenity which was involved. Whereas the condemnation of the gladiatorial shows use to rest upon the fact that the Christians could not witness bloodshed, let alone cause it, it now seems to rest mostly upon the reasons just mentioned. However, Lactantius, along with a few other writers, brings out this long standing objection of bloodshed, saying; "If, therefore, it is nowise lawful to commit homicide, it is not granted (to us) to be present at all (at gladiatorial shows), lest any blood(shed) should permeate the conscience, seeing that the blood(shed) is exhibited to the people." 1.

In actual practice we know that some of the Christians did go to the theatres and amphitheatres for their amusements, but the more conscientious Christians regarded these pleasure seekers as very lax and poor Christians. We know that, at least in theory, it was not tolerated that a Christian should participate in the shows in any way. This is born out in the Canons of Hippolytus and the Egyptian Church-Order, as we have mentioned before. 2. Converted actors were not even allowed to teach boxing, even for the sake of gaining food, but rather in case of necessity should bet a little allowance from the Church fund. Cases are known of Christians who were condemned to put on a boxing contest during the persecutions, and who to avoid it, went on a hunger strike and refused to

---

1. Cadoux, pg 594.

2. See below, pg





submit to the necessary training. 1.

Thus we come to the close of our present period of study. Our general observations lead us to conclude that throughout this period we witness a hastening decline of moral and ethical standards along our special line of thought. In this period we have found some of our strongest and most direct condemnations of war and some of the most blunt refusals to take part in war. Accompanying this extreme, we have the great tide of Christianity rushing out to meet the flux of worldly war and conflict. Constantine, for his own selfish ends, laid hold upon the power of Christianity. He was crafty enough to see that he could use the great force of Christianity if he could but gain control of it, and that control he was not long in turning into his own hands. The period comes to a close with Christianity feeling that it has made a great step in that it has been adopted by the state and that the persecutions will now come to an end. But in truth, the Church had made its greatest compromise, the effects of which it has not yet been able to overcome. This has truly been a period of compromise -- a compromise almost entirely upon the part of the Church.

1. Cadoux, pg 595.



## CHAPTER VII

## THE LONG NIGHT OF WAR

313-1050

Our previous periods of study have been difficult because the volume of evidence has made the matter complicated and confusing. If our present period proves to be difficult, it will not be for that reason. We shall find it necessary to look into all of the hidden crevices to gain any light upon our subject in this dark period. Every little bit of evidence we can find will have to be taken into full consideration.

Turning our attention now to the task at hand, we see that "It is generally thought that, with the accession of Constantine to power, (A.D. 313) the Church as a whole definitely gave up her anti-military leanings, abandoned all her scruples, finally adopted the imperial point of view, and treated the ethical problem involved as a closed question. Allowing for a little exaggeration, this is broadly speaking true. The sign of the cross, to which Jesus had been led by his refusal to sanction or to lead a patriotic war, and on which he had died for the salvation of men, was now an imperial military emblem, bringing good fortune and victory. The supposed nails of the cross, which the Emperor's mother had found and sent to him, he had made into bridle-bits and a helmet, which he used in his military expeditions. In



513 A.D. the Synod of Arelate enacted a Canon, which, if it did not, as many suppose, threaten with excommunication Christian soldiers who insisted on quitting the army, at least left military service perfectly free and open to Christians. Athanasius, 'the father of orthodoxy', declared that it was not only lawful, but praiseworthy, to kill enemies in war. Ambrosius spoke similarly, if less baldly; while Augustine defended the same position with detailed arguments." 1.

We can hardly fail to note the great compromise Christianity made when Constantine came to the throne. The compromise was far greater than we see it in the light of our present special considerations. We must not be deceived, however, into believing that it was entirely unanimous. To be sure, the majority of Christians went over to the side of the compromisers, but there were some who refused to be misled. That is evidenced by the threat of excommunication put forth by the Synod of Arelate in the case of those who refused to serve in the army. If everyone had accepted the compromise, there would have been no need for this edict. It can only mean that there still were some who felt that as Christians they should refuse to serve in the army. The evidence found in the 'Testament of our Lord', cited below, bears out this same point, and the Egyptian Church-Order and Canons of Hippolytus, which go with it, are of a still earlier origin. 2. These rather strict

1. Cadoux, pg 588-f.

2. See below, pg





Church-Orders originating in this period quite conclusively show that there were a goodly number of Christians who had not yet been convinced that Christianity should make such a drastic compromise with the worldly element.

The 'Disputation of Archelaus with Manes,' (second quarter of the fourth century) gives us an episode, part of which features the rejection of the military belt by a large number of soldiers upon their conversion to Christianity. 1. We also have the accounts of several martyrs in the early part of this period. Theogenes of Phrygia refused to serve in the army under Licinius in almost the same manner as did Maximilian in the previous period. 2. He was confronted with the presence of many Christians in the military service, but he maintained his refusal to be enrolled, even to the point of death. Martin of Tours made a sudden decision to leave the army just before a battle, and he met the taunts of cowardice by offering to stand in front of the army unarmed. We know of a similar step taken by his friend, Victricius, who afterwards became archbishop of Rouen; and we also have a letter from Paulinus of Nola wherein he persuaded a friend to do likewise. In a little different manner we have the censure of the military character by Gregory of Nazianzus and by Chrysostom, and the opinion of Basilus that those who shed blood in war should not partake of the communion for three years. 3. There are many more incidents of this nature that we could cite. These, however, are enough to show that although the official

1. General reference, Cadoux, pg 590.

2. See above, pg 91-f.

3. Ibid, #1., pg 591.



opinion in regard to war had gradually changed, with the ascension of Constantine to the throne, from that of condemnation to a whole-hearted sanction, there were still many Christians who could not sanction war or anything connected with it. The official change of the Church did not carry with it the whole-hearted support of all of its children. There were many that still held to the inconsistency of war, and though this number dwindled until no trace of them can be found for a long time, a small spark remained, and at our present date, that spark appears to be about to burst into flame again.

To get a clear vision of the transition period of the Church, let us turn back and note that, "During the period when the conditions of life in the Empire and the Church relieved all but a very few of the need of making a personal decision which involved any conflict with the State, with the result that the problem in its different bearings dawned on the Christian mind only fragmentarily and by slow degrees -- during that period, I say, the simple-mindedness of some, the worldliness of others, and the charitable tolerance (not necessarily the approval) of the rest, were already silently determining what the result was to be. The consequence was that, when the events of the years following 313 A.D. suddenly called upon the Church to come down definitely on one side of the fence or the other she found that a free decision was no longer open to her. Her joy at the deliverance Constantine had wrought for her was so great that it put her off her guard. She found herself compelled by the eagerness with which she had welcomed him, and by her own immaturity of thought and inconsistency of practice, to make



his standards of righteousness in certain respects her own. Henceforth it was out of the question for her to insist on an ethical view and practice, on which her own mind was not clearly made up, and which her great protector would naturally regard as dangerous disloyalty to himself. Official Christianity was now committed to the sanction of war -- so far as the practical conduct of Christian men as citizens was concerned -- whenever the state chose to wage it. Further than that, the decision not only settled the practical question for the moment and doomed the dissentient voices -- many as they still were -- to ultimate silence, but it tied up the freedom of Christian thought, and made any unfettered discussion of the problem on its merits next to impossible for centuries to come." 1.

We have seen that some individuals still held to the pacifists' position, and that the Church, in its official capacity, sanctioned war even to the extent that it turned itself into the persecuter of those of its number who felt the necessity of maintaining the purity of the pacific position. This is true in a general way, but it is not the entire truth. The Church did give its sanction to war, but this sanction extended only to the laity. Clergy of all degrees were required to keep out of war. Cadoux says, "The sense of the incongruity between Christianity and political and military life survived also in the fourth and subsequent centuries in the strongly felt and strongly expressed disapproval of the participation of the Christian clergy in any activities of this kind, particularly the bearing of arms." 2.

---

1. Cadoux, pg 592.

2. Ibid, note # 6, pg 591.





An examination of some of these regulations will make the matter clear to us. We have the following account from the Synod of Arles, held in Gaul in 314 A.D. We are concerned with Canon # 3, which has been interpreted in a number of ways. One interpretation forbids the use of arms except in case of war. But it seems that the most likely and most generally accepted interpretation is by Augustine, sic: "Many Christians, says he, under the pagan emperors, had religious scruples with regard to military service, and positively refused to take arms, or else deserted. The Synod, in considering the dangers introduced by Constantine, set forth the obligation that Christians have to serve in war, and that because the Church is at peace (in peace) under a prince friendly to Christians." 1. Thus we see the position of the Church toward the laity as it enters into the new era of Church and State.

From the Council of Nicaea, held in 325 A.D., we seem to get a different attitude on the part of the Church. Canon # 12 of this Council lays down the regulation that, "Those who, called by grace, have shown the first zeal, and have laid aside their belts, but afterwards have returned like dogs to their vomit, and have gone so far as to give money and presents to be readmitted into military service shall remain three years among the audientes, and ten years among the substrati." This Canon also prescribes that some of the Christians who had served under Licinius (the heathen) had to turn from military service with this same penitence enforced. If after repentance, they went back to military service, at times even paying money to get back

1. Hefele, Volume I; pg 185. See Bibliography.



into the military service, the penitance was heavier and longer. 1.

This Canon seems to be in almost direct opposition to the preceeding one. The only way we can account for this is that these Canons came from different sections of the country, and thus we have the different attitudes upon the subject of war. This would tend to bear out our contention that there were certain persons and likewise certain units or sections of the Church that did not suddenly give up all of their pacifism because Constantine seemed to be friendly to the Church and wanted to make it his ally. At least here is the evidence of a section of the Church that did not sanction war when it was supposed to be the universal policy of the Church to do so.

Even the worldly powers recognized to some extent that war was incompatible with Christianity. It was the custom that kings and emperors should leave their arms, shields, and crowns outside the Church. All soldiers were supposed to do likewise. We have evidence that Emperor Theodius Jr. (379-395 A.D.) held to this, and also Julian the apostate (361-363 A.D.) himself regarded this custom. This is at least an outward recognition of the inconsistency of the Church and war, even if this was only done on the basis that every one should be at peace in the temple of the prince of Peace, and therefore should leave all arms outside. 2.

In the latter part of the fourth century, we see that the state had yet by no means taken the Church over completely to the unconditional militaristic view. Canon # 81 of the so-called Apostolic Canons shows us that while heathenism was

1. Hefele, Volume I, pg 417.

2. Bingham, Vol. VI, pg 333.  
See Bibliography.



predominate, it was dangerous for Christians to participate in any public office, for they would be called upon to take part in pagan ceremonies. It was only the laity that was allowed to enter public offices -- of which the army was a great part -- and bishops and clergy were forbidden to take any part therein. We see that the Church was making a struggle to save some of its peaceful moral tone. She had been forced to retreat now to the position where it was immoral only for the clergy to participate in war. It is hard to see just how it was considered a virtue and spiritual enterprise for the laity if it was not for the clergy. 1.

A letter from Pope Siricius to the bishop of Africa tells us of various old laws of the Church that were re-enacted at the synods at Rome in 386 A.D. One of these laws states that "He who after baptism has served in war, may not become a cleric." 2. This would infer that if a person had served in the army, but left that calling as soon as he was baptized, it was permissible for him to become a cleric. Some years later this position was altered a little by the Synod at Alexandria (about 399 A.D.) and other synods of the same or following year. Canon # 8 of this synod states that those who have served in war may become clerics, but may not be raised to the diaconate. 3. We see this to be a still greater concession on the part of the Church.

On page 105 will be found a copy of some important sections of the early Church-Orders which we have referred to above.

1. Hefele, Volume I, pg 490.      2. Ibid, Volume II, pg 386-f.
3. Ibid, Volume II, pg 418-ff.





These Church-Orders show that there was still a strong sentiment for peace even late in the fourth century. These Church-Orders do not need any explanation; they speak for themselves. In their original form they were much more strict than they are here, but even the drastic alterations that came in this new era could not wipe out all of the anti-militaristic sentiment expressed therein.

The Roman Synod under Innocent I., held in the year 402 A.D., maintained about the same position as that of the Apostolic Canons. Canon # 4 decrees that "Those who, after becoming Christians, have served in war shall not be ordained, because of the loose morals associated with the life of a soldier." 1. This would seem to lower the position of the Church still further, for it puts the objection on the moral basis rather than on the ethical basis of the rightness or wrongness of war. Canon # 7 of the fourth Cœcumenical Synod at Chalcedon, held in 451 A.D., tells us that "Those who have been once received into the number of the clergy, or have become monks, must not serve in war, or enter a secular calling; those who venture to do so, and do not repent so as to return to the calling which they had previously chosen for the sake of God, shall be anathematized." 2. This also seems to be a slight retreat on the part of the Church, for here we understand that now the clergy can be forgiven -- can repent -- if they go into the army after they have been ordained and thus be reinstated.

As we noted earlier, the sign of the cross was made the imperial military emblem, and it brought success and good

1. HeFele, Volume II, pg 428.

2. Ibid, Volume III, pg 292.



## THE CHURCH-ORDERS

EGYPTIAN  
CHURCH-ORDER

According to Ethiopic version as given by Horner.

300-350 A.D.

XI. 4. He who sits with the spectators in the theatre, they shall not receive.

XI. 6. He who similarly fights in the fight shall not be admitted.

XI. 7. He who is a gladiator and fights with gladiators and is conquered or conquers, or those who witness the gladiatorial shows and frequent those public places shall not be admitted.

Statute 28. . . . A soldier of the prince they shall not receive, and if indeed they receive him, if he was commanded to kill he shall not do (it); and if he does not leave off he shall be rejected.

HIPPOLYTEAN  
CANONS

According to Achelis. (Latin, based on Arabic.).

250-300 A.D. ?

XII. 67. Those who have been in the theatrical or gladiatorial shows and have run . . . or have fought with wild beasts may not be admitted to the sacred ceremonies unless purged of all these worldly deeds.

XIII. 71. A man who has accepted the power of killing or a soldier, may never be received at all  
XIII. 72. But those who, when they were soldiers, were ordered to fight, but otherwise have abstained from all evil speech and have not placed garlands on their heads, but have acquired every mark of distinction (may be received)

TESTAMENT  
OF OUR LORD

Not earlier than-

350 A.D.

II. 2. If any one be a soldier or in authority, let him be taught not to oppress or to kill or to rob, or to be angry or to rage and afflict any one. But let those rations suffice him which are given to him. But if they wish to be baptized in the Lord, let them cease from military service or from the (post of) authority, and if not let them not be received.



EGYPTIAN  
CHURCH-ORDERHIPPOLYTEAN  
CANONSTESTAMENT  
OF OUR LORD.

Statute 29. Concerning other persons. Either he who is a soldier among the believers and among the instructed, or a stargazer or magistrate with the sword or chief of praefects, and he who is clad in red, let him leave off or be rejected. And a catechumen or believer, if they wish to be a soldier, shall be rejected, because it is far from God.

XIII. 73. But every man who, having been raised to the rank of prefecture or precedence or power, is not clothed with the adornment of justice which is according to the gospel, let him be separated from the flock, and let not the bishop pray in his presence.

XIV. 74. Let not the Christian become a soldier of his own will, unless he is compelled by a commander. Let him have the sword; but let him beware lest he become guilty of the charge of shedding blood.

VIV. 75. If it be found out that blood has been shed by him, let him abstain from participation in the (Christian) mysteries, unless perchance he shall be corrected by a singular change in character, accompanied by tears and lamentation. Nevertheless, let his gift be not a (mere) sham, but (given) with the fear of God.

Let a catechumen or a believer of the people, if he desire to be a soldier, either cease from his intention, or if not, let him be rejected. For he hath despised God by his thought, and leaving the things of the Spirit, he hath perfected himself in the flesh, and hath treated the faith with contempt.





fortune. 1. This was a retrogressive step of some thousand years or more to the time when the Children of Israel brought the Arc of the Covenant out with them when they went to do battle with the Philistines because it would bring them God's aid and good fortune. 2. This backward step has never been regained, for today we still have the symbols of religion in our armies. It was but one short century after the acceptance of Christianity by the state -- the point where the Church did an about face in its attitude on war -- until the whole tide of affairs had been completely reversed. In 313 A.D. the Church upheld the ideal that Christ had unbelted every soldier and that Christians could not kill. In 416 A.D., however, just the opposite was true, for it was then considered praiseworthy to kill enemies in war, and the Church writers gave detailed arguments defending their position. Whereas in 313 A.D. Christians were not allowed to be soldiers, in 416 A.D. none but Christians were allowed in the army.

"It is therefore, indisputable, that the Christians who lived nearest to the time of our Saviour, believed, with undoubting confidence, that He had unequivocally forbidden war -- that they openly avowed this belief, and that, in support of it, they were willing to sacrifice, and did sacrifice, their fortunes and their lives.

"Christians, however, afterwards became soldiers. And when? -- When their general fidelity to Christianity became relaxed: -- when, in other respects, they violated its

1. See above, pg 86.

2. I Samuel IV: 3-9.



principles; -- when they had begun 'to dissemble,' and 'to falsify their word,' and 'to cheat,' -- when 'Christian casuists' had persuaded them that they might sit at meat in the idol's temple; when Christians accepted even the priesthoods of idolatry. In a word, they became soldiers when they had ceased to be Christians.

"The departure from the original faithfulness was, however, not suddenly general. Like every other corruption, war obtained by degrees. During the first two hundred years, not a Christian soldier is upon record. In the third century, when Christianity became partially corrupted, Christian soldiers were common. The number increased with the increase of the general profligacy, until at last in the fourth century, Christians became soldiers without hesitation, and, perhaps, without remorse. Here and there, however, an ancient father still lifted up his voice for peace; but these, one after another, dropping from the world, the tenet that war is unlawful, ceased at length to be a tenet of the Church." 1.

Hereafter the problem of Christians participating in military service ceases to be a problem. If ever the subject was raised, it was raised incidentally, and it has not been preserved and brought to our attention. The Church had reversed its position and it set about to do the job wholeheartedly. For the most part there is no direct evidence upon this matter of war after the fifth century, for war was taken for granted, and no one recorded anything about it. We shall

---

1. Dymond, pg 86-f.



have to look for material upon this subject in all places where it might be incidentally mentioned.

From the fifth century on, Christianity spread rapidly throughout the whole world. But it was not the original, non-resistant, ethical, peace-loving Christianity that was known during the first three centuries of this era. The very means by which it propagated itself in other lands destroyed all of this finer quality. Whereas before it had spread on account of its attractiveness and because of its high moral and ethical ideals, it was now spread by force because it was the most convenient method by which the rulers might organize the people into unified groups. The method used in carrying this great religion to other nations was a great contradiction to its principles. Through their blindness Christians had hardened their consciences so that they did not see the inconsistency of force with the idea of love and good will.

Robinson summarizes this whole matter very well.

"The use of force as a means of spreading the Christian faith became more and more common as time passed. Great Britain and Ireland are perhaps the only countries in Europe in which the profession of Christianity was not at one time or another spread by the threat of persecution and death, and Ireland appears to be the only country which has witnessed no Christian martyrdom. The worst instances of the use of compulsion are to be found in Prussia, Pomerania, and Scandinavia. In the later country King Hakno hastened the nominal acceptance of the faith by burning to death those who refused to be converted, whilst





in Prussia the 'Christian' Knights of the Sword ravaged the country for decades of years with a view to the conversion of its inhabitants. Those who employed force for this purpose were unfortunately able to quote the authority of some of the greatest teachers of the Church from the fourth century onwards. The first work in which forcible conversion was distinctly advocated was an appeal to Constantine and Constans to eradicate heathenism, written about 347 A.D. by Firmicus Maternus. St. Augustine expressed his approval of the use of force for the conversion of heretics, and it was natural to argue that if force could be efficacious for the re-conversion of heretics, it would be equally efficacious and justifiable in the case of the heathen. In one of his letters he definitely expresses his approval of the capital punishment of pagans who offered sacrifices.

"Chrysostom approved of the destruction of idol temples, but disapproved of the employment of force in order to convert the heathen. Thus he writes 'It is not lawful for Christians to overthrow error by force and violence, but they should labor for the conversion of man by persuasion, speech and gentleness.'

"St. Gregory, who sent Augustine to England, approved the corporal punishment of the Barbarians in Sardinia, the imposition of higher taxes upon pagans and the lowering of rents in the case of Jews who accepted baptism. He wrote; 'If they are not sincerely converted themselves, their children at least will be baptized with better will.' On the other hand protests against the use of force were from time to time uttered.



Thus Hilary of Poitiers writes: 'If such violence was employed to sustain the true faith, the wisdom of the bishops should oppose it; they should say, "God will not have a forced homage."' Again he writes, 'Woe to the times when the divine faith stands in need of earthly power.' Martin of Tours strongly opposed the condemnation to death of the Priscillianists in Spain on account of their alleged heresy. It is not surprising that those whose fathers or forefathers had been converted to Christianity by the sword should have regarded it as a duty to employ the same means for the conversion of the Saracens, and that few were found to protest against the policy of the Crusaders." 1.

"Theodosius who succeeded to the throne in 379 was the first to initiate the forcible extermination of paganism and the conversion of the Empire to nominal Christianity. In 391 he issued an edict prohibiting anyone from offering a sacrifice or even from entering a pagan temple and in the following year sacrifices were prohibited under pain of death and all other acts of idolatry under pain of forfeiture of the house or land in which the idolatrous act might have been committed.

"The question raised by the employment of force as a missionary agency will confront us again and again as we pass from land to land. In estimating the degree of moral responsibility that attaches to those by whom such force was employed we shall be reminded of Cicero's saying that the blame for wrongdoing must often be attributed not so much to the individual as to the age in which the individual lives." 2.

1. Robertson, pg 23-f. See Bibliography. 2. Ibid, pg 25.



This is truly the dark age! Dark if for no other reason than for the blood that flowed over the land and hardened into a dark, ugly clot. The story of this period is like the story of some insolent school boys who carry their pockets full of chips just to start fights. "The pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, tells of a fight at a Papal election in 366 as a result of which one hundred and thirty-seven persons were killed; but adds that the office was worth fighting for, since it brought with it a large income which enabled the bishop to dress elegantly and to ride in a carriage and to give banquets that outshone those of the emperor." 1.

War was carried on in varying degrees, from little petty affairs, such as this just mentioned, to wholesale battles and slaughters. By the time of the eighth century, the sword had become the main means of conversion. Preaching had become too slow -- and perhaps we might venture that it was too slow because organized Christianity had become so corrupt and so mechanized that the non-christian world did not see any good reason for changing to it -- and the more speedy, but usually less successful and certain, method of the sword was reverted to.

Charles the Great (768-814) or Charlemagne, as he is commonly known, was perhaps one of the first emperors to use this method of conversion on the wholesale plan. He is described in part as follows: "Charles' inexhaustible physical vigor is seen in his personally directing a military campaign almost every year of his reign. He was ambitious and autocratic and

1. Thorndike, pg 107. See Bibliography.





sometimes even brutal. Yet most of his policies of conquest were inherited from his predecessors, and he was a zealous promoter of Christianity and learning . . . . .

"Fighting, however, absorbed much of Charlemagne's time and energy, as was the case with all the kings of that age. He fought against the Lombards, Bavarians, and Saxons, against Arab, Avars, Slavs, and Danes . . . . . The pope was soon again at war with the Lombard king, and appealed to Charles for aid. . . . ."<sup>1.</sup> Here in this last sentence we see that at this early date not only the emperor, but the pope himself -- God's representative on earth, engaged in war. It was not long till the pope, not content with having caused war to be waged, had to lead the campaigns in person. There is perhaps nothing more absurd than that such a state of affairs could ever be called Christianity. It might have been a religion ABOUT Jesus, but if it was anything, it surely was not a religion OF Jesus.

Another picture of Charlemagne shows us that "He made his wars of aggression definitely religious wars. All the world of north-west Europe, which is now Great Britain, France, Germany, Denmark, and Norway and Sweden, was, in the ninth century, an arena of bitter conflict between the old faith and the new. Whole nations were converted to Christianity by the sword just as Islam in Arabia, Central Asia, and Africa had converted whole nations a century or so before.

"With fire and sword Charlemagne preached the Gospel of the Cross to the Saxons, Bohemians, and as far as the Danube

1. Thorndike, pg 199-f.



into what is now Hungary; he carried the same teaching down the Adriatic coast through what is now Dalmatia, and drove the Moslems back from the Pyrenese as far as Barcelona." 1.

The decline of the Church has become almost complete. From a thoroughly pacific institution, it has become a completely militaristic power. Soldiers and military equipment were no longer spoken of only for purposes of illustration. They were actualities. The Church was willingly seduced to the position of a glorified warlord. She killed pagans to make them Christians, but all the time she was making herself more pagan in her greed for property and wealth. When Charlemagne baptized the heathen world, he saw to it that their right hand and sword did not go under the baptismal waters with them. They were reserved for fighting. Even the clergy was baptized in that blood of war. At first the clergy was forbidden to take part in any sort of military life, but now even that nominal restraint was removed. The clergy was made one of the main stays and supports of the army.

Pope Nicholas I, in a letter replying to some of the questions of Bogoris of Bulgaria (865) gave his attitude toward war. He said that all wars and contentions came from the temptation of the great adversary; hence they ought, if possible, to be avoided, not only in times of fasting, but always. But in cases of necessity when men are called upon to prepare for war in defense of their country or its laws, it would be improper to lay aside the preparations, for that

---

1. Wells, pg 616. See Bibliography.



would be tempting God by neglecting to do all that lies in our power for our own good and the good of others, or for preventing some injury which might be done to religion.

He further explained to them (the Bulgarians) how they had laid aside, at their baptism, all divination, sorcery, and superstitious observations of days and hours to which they used to resort when about to engage in war. They now -- in fighting a battle for religion -- should prepare by going to Church, offering prayer, celebrating mass, confessing sins, forgiving wrongs or injuries, setting prisoners free, freeing slaves, and giving alms. 1.

Thus we have a pacific and militaristic statement combined in one. This letter or statement resulted in an actual declaration of the Christian's obligation to fight for the Church. The Church leaders were the ones who decided when to fight, and they made that decision at almost any slight provocation or excuse. In theory, the decision of when to fight and when not to fight was left in the hands of God, but in practice the Church officials were the supreme judges in the matter.

Toward the close of this period, the feudal system was beginning to have its effect upon the situation. The name 'Feudal' is most appropriate, for this surely was a period of feuds. Feudalism is an inexhaustable subject, and we can take only a quick glance at it here. The facts and details of feudalism are so readily accessable that they are nearly common knowledge to all. The organization of the feudal states

1. General reference, Munroe, pg 264. See Bibliography.





was as complicated as is our modern business organization. Each little petty lord was a rival to every other petty lord. This rivalry broke out in all manner of warfare, from minor skirmishes to full size battles. One under lord who had his own feuds to be concerned with was also in servitude to an over lord, and again in turn this over lord was under obligations to a still more powerful lord. Through a multiplicity of variations of this kind there was a great maze of alliances and jealousies. And in it all, the poor serf bore the brunt of the burden. The serf was the only producer, and he had not only to aid in the actual warfare, but he had to pay the bills in the end.

The peasant or serf was the very basis of this warlike system. An independent man was a warlord, who waged war, small or great, using the serfs under him as his soldiers and laborers. "Those who could not make an independent living would commend themselves for the rest of their lives to some great man on the understanding that he would support them and that they would serve him in ways befitting a freeman. This might mean that he would employ them as fighting men, but it left problematic the fate of their children, who might sink to a servile status. This practice of commendation was mentioned by Salvian in the fifth century, had been in vogue among the Franks long before Charlemagne, and was also a custom among the Anglo-Saxons." <sup>1.</sup> Similar situations existed in earlier times among the Hebrews (and most other ancient

---

<sup>1.</sup> Thorndike, pg 238.



civilizations as well) as is indicated by a great deal of the legislation brought down to us in the Old Testament. 1.

"The feudal service rendered by a vassal to his lord varied greatly with such circumstances as the size and value of the fief held, and the relative power and position of the two parties. . . . . It was generally understood that the holder of a fief should not be required to perform any servile or menial duties, but only honorable service proper for a freeman, a warrior, and a holder of considerable property. The chief form of service was military, and forty days in the year was frequently the amount of service required." 2.

"As the castle suggests, war was the natural state of the feudal world. Ambitious lords, especially as population increased and land became scarce, waged war upon one another. Younger sons tried to win new fiefs by the sword, since they could not hope to inherit them, and often fought against their fathers or older brothers. Lords perhaps fought more often against their own vassals, or rather against men whom they claimed as their vassals, than they did with other lords. Vassals were ever quarreling with their lords over the conditions of their vassalage and the services which they were bound to render. . . . . The whole situation was one of disorderly rivalry where every one was trying to increase his power at the expense of others." 3.

---

1. There are many and various regulations, in the O.T., concerning the treatment of bondmen. Leviticus XXV:42-55 and Deuteronomy XV:7-18 are typical illustrations.

2. Thorndike, pg 242.

3. Ibid, pg 249.



War was an integral part of the feudal system. The lords and rulers were practically engaged in the business of war. They wanted war, for that was their means of maintaining their strength and livelihood, and they had the sanction of the Church for their actions. The poor vassals and serfs had no choice in the matter. The Church no longer fostered the pacific spirit, and since the Church was their only source of information and ideals, the vassals and serfs were unaware that there was such a thing as living in peace and live. Even if by some chance a vassal or serf had caught a gleam of the peaceful spirit of Jesus, he would have been utterly unable to heed the call and challenge of the idea, for he was bound to his lord in such a manner that he could be forced to participate in the wars of the fief regardless of his feelings in the matter. The vassals and serfs were little more than robots who did the bidding of the lords. The lords lived in the darkness and grew fat on it; and it remained a dark and dreary period of history for many centuries.

There is another element in history that brought on this unenlightened period, and we must pause a moment to notice it. It was the Church Universal. It may seem strange to think of the Church as a force that brought on darkness and retarded progress, but such was the effect of the Church in those dark ages. "Through Charlemagne the tradition of the Roman Caesar was revived in Europe. The Roman Empire was dead and decaying; the Byzantine Empire was far gone in decline; but the education





and mentality of Europe was sunken to a level at which new creative political ideas were probably impossible . . . . .

. . . Official Christianity had long overlaid and accustomed itself to ignore those strange teachings of Jesus of Nazareth from which it had arisen. The Roman Church, clinging tenaciously to its possession of the title of 'pontifex maximus', had long since abandoned its appointed task of achieving the Kingdom of Heaven. It was preoccupied with the revival of Roman ascendancy on earth, which it conceived of as its inheritance. It had become a political body, using the faith and needs of simple men to forward its schemes." <sup>1.</sup>

Amidst this deep darkness a flicker of light and hope appeared near the end of this period. We find some resemblance, remote and indirect as it may be, of a desire for peace and a hope for a day ahead when all the world should live as one great family. "The clergy . . . wanted to place some checks upon the constant feudal wars which were devastating the land, and in particular injuring the property of the Church. After various attempts they inaugurated the Peace of God, which was received enthusiastically by the masses. An idea of its purport may be gathered from some of the provisions of the oath which Robert was asked to swear in 1023: viz., that he would not attack members of the clergy who did not carry weapons; that he would not carry off ox, cow or any other beast of burden; that he would not seize a peasant man or woman or merchant, or take away their property;

1. Wells, pg 619.



that in war he would not destroy or burn houses or vineyard. Everyone who took the oath was expected to become a member of the league to enforce the peace, and to aid the clergy, merchants, and peasants against oppressors. To suppliment this protection accorded to certain classes, the Church added the Truce of God, which should prevent all fighting at certain times. This was first instituted in 1027 for the bishopric of Elne, where all fighting was interdicted from the ninth hour on Saturday till the first hour on Monday. The idea spread in the south of France, and in 1041 through a council held at Nicea, several biships and the abbot of Cluny wrote to the clergy of Italy, asking them to adopt the Truce from Wednesday evening till Monday morning. 'Thursday was sacred because of the ascension of Christ, Friday because of the passion, Saturday because of the adoration of the tomb, Sunday because of the resurrection.' Soon whole sections of the year were added. Advent until the Octave of Epiphany, from Septugesima Sunday till the Octave of Easter, the week of Penticost, the fast of the four seasons, all of the festivals of the Virgin, of St. John the Baptist, St. Mastin, and others. The French king favored these institutions of peace, but they had very little success, as the new ideals were contrary to the whole tenor of feudal life, and there was no power strong enough to enforce the decrees of either the Peace of God or the Truce of God." 1.

We find even the Clergy entering into these un-Christian



battles, for we noted above concerning the clergy that only those who did not carry weapons were to be free from attack. It is clear then that many of the clergy carried arms and joined in the battles of this dark period, if perhaps only for self protection.

Another bright spot is found at the close of this dark age. The Cathari, an organization that had appeared in Bulgaria in the ninth century, were strict adherents to the principles of non-resistance. By the eleventh century this organization had spread abroad throughout the neighboring countries until it attracted a great deal of persecution. "The word Cathari, significantly enough, means 'the pure men.' In some places they were called the Slavoni, because of their origin among the Slav population of southeastern Europe. Still more frequently they were styled the 'Weavers,' for the obvious reason that most of them were weavers, or artisans who supported themselves by some kind of hand labour. These Cathari were primitive Christians in the literal sense of the word; and of course were non-resistants of the uncompromising type. Therefore is it a matter of record that when the persecutors of Rome fell upon them with fire and sword and rack -- pillaged their homes, tortured their old and young, and slaughtered men, women and children, all alike without compunction -- they raised not a hand in opposition. Without any attempt at self-defence, they died for the faith that was within them." 1.

---

1. Holmes, pg 188-f. See Bibliography.





We shall have to pass from this period without further insight into our subject. These feudal people were living in a very hell of war. It was not so much a hell on account of the dreadful slaughter and torture and suffering that was brought by the constant warfare, as it was because of the ever present dread of being constantly obliged to protect and defend oneself or one's lord. There was no safety anywhere. The wars were carried out on a very small local scale, for the most part, and the loss of life was relatively small. But the constant turmoil in which all of life found itself constituted a sound basis for Dante's ideas that later came to life in his Inferno.



## CHAPTER VIII

## THE BLOODY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

1050-1500

We are not escaping much in leaving the previous period and plunging into this section of history. In the past, the sword was stained with blood, all with the sanction of, and in the name of, the Church which was supposed to be the incarnation of Jesus. Now we find, in this section of our study, that through this same authority, not only is the sword stained, but blood flowed up to the horse's bridle. From the petty feudal battles, the Church now pressed on into war on a larger scale. Attempting to spread nominal Christianity, and the power that went with it, the Church found it was easier to meet resistance with force. The Church inaugurated a new campaign of conversion by the sword, killing heathens by the thousands -- all professedly being done in the spirit of love.

Near the outset of the present period the Church entered upon her great plan of the crusades which lasted almost two centuries (1096 - 1270). The history of the crusades is a long and gloomy tale. We, by no means, intend to relate the whole of the story here. A glimpse or two here and there will tell us enough for our purpose, for the one and same attitude of the Church prevailed throughout the entire crusade. H.G.Wells, in his Outline of History, has summarized these crusades very well, and we shall refer to his work for our details.



" . . . . . The first forces to move eastward were great crowds of undisciplined people rather than armies, and they sought to make their way by the valley of the Danube, and thence southward to Constantinople. This was the 'people's crusade'. Never before in the whole history of the world had there been such a spectacle as these masses of practically leaderless people moved by an idea. It was a very crude idea. When they got among foreigners, they do not seem to have realized that they were not already among the infidel. Two great mobs, the advance guard of the expedition, committed such excesses in Hungary, where the language must have been incomprehensible to them, as to provoke the Hungarians to destroy them. They were massacred. A third host began with a great pogrom of the Jews in the Rhineland -- for the Christian blood was up -- and this multitude was also dispersed in Hungary. Two other hosts under Peter got through and reached Constantinople, to the astonishment and dismay of the emperor Alexius. They looted and committed outrages as they came, and at last he shipped them across the Bosphorus, to be massacred rather than defeated by the Seljuks (1096).

"The first unhappy appearance of the 'People' as people in modern European history was followed in 1097 by the organized forces of the First Crusade. . . . . They went much the same route as Alexander the great, . . . . . and so to Antioch, which they took after nearly a year's siege, . . . . .  
 . . . A large part of the Crusaders remained in Antioch, a small force under Godfrey of Bouillon went on to Jerusalem.





'After a little more than a month's siege, the city was finally captured (July 15). The slaughter was terrible; the blood of the conquered ran down the streets, until men splashed in blood as they rode. At nightfall, "sobbing for excess of joy," the crusaders came to the Sepulchre from their treading of the winepress, and put their blood-stained hands together in prayer. So, on that day of July, the First Crusade came to an end.'" 1.

"By the time of the Third Crusade, the magic and wonder had gone out of these movements altogether. The common people had found them out. Men went, but only kings and nobles straggled back; and that often only after heavy taxation for a ransom. The idea of the crusades was cheapened by their too frequent and trivial use. Whenever the Pope quarrelled with anyone now, he called for a crusade, until the word ceased to mean anything but an attempt to give flavour to an unpalatable civil war. There was a crusade against the heretics in the south of France, one against John (king of England), one against the Emperor Fredrick II. The popes did not understand the necessity of dignity to the papacy. They had achieved a moral ascendancy in Christendom. Forthwith they began to fritter it away. They not only cheapened the idea of the crusades, but they made their tremendous power of excommunication, of putting people outside all the sacraments, hopes, and comforts of religion, ridiculous by using it in mere disputes of policy. . . . ." 2.

1. Wells, pg 642.

2. Ibid, pg 645.



"In 1212 occurred a dreadful thing, a children's crusade.

An excitement that could no longer affect ~~sane~~ adults was spread among the children in the south of France and in the Rhone valley. A crowd of many thousands of French boys marched to Marseilles; they were then lured on board ship by slave traders, who sold them into slavery in Egypt. The Rhineland children tramped into Italy, many perishing by the way, and there dispersed. . . . . Pope Innocent III made a great capital out of this strange business. 'The very children put us to shame' he said; and sought to whip up enthusiasm for a Fifth Crusade. . . . . " 1.

Such were the gross immoralities of the crusades. There is no kinship between the Church that sponsored this dreadful slaughter and the early Church of the first centuries which tried to live close to Jesus' ideals of love and peace and kindness. In the third century, the cross, which was the symbol of the Christians, had been taken over by the heathens in the army; now the Church reclaimed this symbol, but with some alterations, making it sharp and pointed, the short end being used as a handle.

The moral effect of the crusades is beyond calculation. Everyone was at least temporarily plunged into the slime of hate and greed and bloodshed. The clergy was as impure on the inside, for the greater part, as were their blood-stained garmets on the outside. The great struggle took away most of the hope and light of the people. Things had been dark, but they were now darker. Taxation was tremendous. They were under obligation to the pope at every move. They had

---

1. Wells, pg 646.



to mortgage their very lives for everything they needed. The clergy didnot teach anything about the religion OF Jesus -- only the religion of money, and penitance, and indulgence, and allegience to the hard rule of the pope; and the people, bound down by the system, knew nothing about the idea of love and sacrifice that Jesus came presenting to this earth. The ruling class did not go unaffected. For the most part, the crusades made the ruling classes begin to look upon the existing form of the Church in disgust. They wanted to break away from the dreadful dark power of the papacy. This power, however, was so great that revolt couldnot easily be accomplished, and the battle for the separation of Church and State ensued for several centuries.

Near the close of the crusades a peace-loving sect known as the Waldenses was brought into prominence under the leadership of Peter Waldo, from whom the sect derived its name. Peter Waldo was a rich merchant of the city of Lyons. His ability as a good business man was quite successfully turned to the leadership of this religious sect. ". . . . . In 1170, he heard for the first time the story of the rich young man who was told by Jesus to sell all of his goods and give them to the poor. Good Waldo acted at once upon this commandment of the Master, and, like St. Francis after him, went forth to preach the gospel of good will. From the very beginning, non-resistance was an important part of his message. And it is somewhat noteworthy that he based his teachings in this regard, not merely upon the words of Jesus, but also upon those of Moses. The non-resistant principles of the Nazarene,





he said, were only a logical extension of the Mosaic law, 'Thou shalt not kill.' For two centuries, the followers of Waldo were faithful to his teachings in this as in all other regards. Hunted from one end of Europe to the other, tortured, slain, mutilated, they refused to take up the sword. The Waldensian persecution constitutes one of the noblest as well as one of the blackest pages of religious history." 1.

Out of the crusades grew the various orders of Knighthood, and they came to play a very important part in Medieval life. In 1189 the "Order of Teutonic Knights came into existence. Its object was to succour German pilgrims or crusaders in the Holy Land. About 1200 the knightly "Order of the Sword" was organized, and in 1202 the order was placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its members were pledged to hear mass frequently, to abstain from marriage, to lead a chaste and sober life, and to fight against the heathen. These knights received in return the privilege of holding all of the lands they wrested from the heathen inhabitants. In 1238 the two orders were united and received the blessings of the pope. For seventy years or more these orders carried out their ruthless warfare. The poor peasants, vasals, and serfs still bore the brunt of the cost of these organizations and their actions. The feudal system remained powerful until after this time, and all of these so called brave and heroic knights were living off of the poor bent backs of the people under them. 2.

To get a still clearer picture of the thoughts and actions

1. Holmes, pg 189-f.

2. General reference, Robinson, pgs, 428-f & 516-f.



of these 'brave and gallant knights' about whom we so often hear, we ought to note their initiation and general form of life. "The candidate took a bath as a symbol of purity, 'watched his arms' before an alter or shrine of some saint throughout a night, and confessed his sins. His weapons were blessed by a priest and he had to listen to a sermon emphasizing his duties as a knight. These were that he must protect the Church, ladies, and all those who were oppressed. His godfather in chivalry gave him the accolade 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'. His golden spurs, the peculiar symbol of knighthood, were bound upon him and he ran the quintain. It should be noted that the duties of the knight were mainly those of a vassal; fidelity, bravery, and loyalty.

"These were the themes of the early poems of chivalry such as the 'Song of Roland' with which the jongleurs entertained the knights at table. They listened eagerly to the long accounts of the combats, for fighting was their chief occupation and pleasure. Private wars were constant and long protracted. In these wars the knights suffered relatively little -- the peasants had to bear the brunt. For in order to conquer an opponent his villages were burned and his fields laid waste to cut off his food supply. A lord was seldom killed in battle, and when he was captured and put to ransom the cost in the long run fell on the serfs." 1. We have many idealistic and romantic stories about the knights, but on the whole they were products of their generation and they did not tend to

---

1. Munroe, pg 314.



remedy the conditions of feudalism. The knights were organized for war. It was an easy life for them, and they did not care to change it.

Indirectly, a moral value did grow out of the crusades. The people were trodden so low that they began to resent the harshness and inhumanities of the war system. Slowly they began to look ahead to a time when they would be freed of the heavy shackles of war for which they had no appetite. We recognize a form of this expression in St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226). St Francis, in his early life was a staunch warrior, and as a boy went off to the wars with a heart looking for adventure and excitement. But there came a sudden turning point in his life, and from that time on he was above everything else a lover of peace. This idea of peace was spread throughout all of his extensive organizations. From a small following his army grew to thousands, hundreds of thousands, until at its height there were, perhaps, even millions of men and women in his army of peace. In the midst of the crusades, this movement came as a strong reaction, and it had great influence throughout Italy and the neighboring countries.<sup>1.</sup>

"From the beginning of his public work Francis sided with the minores, or the poor lesser ones. But he would never encourage them to take up arms against their oppressors. This was because he believed that the true way toward liberty and harmony was the road of peace. The only weapon he would rely upon was love."<sup>2.</sup>

---

<sup>1.</sup> Williams, pg 129-144. See Bibliography.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid, pg 137.





When St. Francis entered into this new work he took as his motto the Biblical words, "And when you come into a house salute it, saying 'Peace be to this house'". He told his followers that God revealed this salutation to him, and he would always end by saying; "The Lord give you peace." This salutation was put into the rules of the order, and every time one of the Franciscians entered a house, he was to say: "Peace be to this house." And any time he met or spoke to anyone he was to say; "The Lord give thee peace."

This was a rather strange greeting for those troubled days. Peace was unheard of. The world seemed to be existing merely for the sake of war. When St. Francis and the Franciscians went about giving the salutations of peace, they were laughed at, for no one knew that there could be such a thing as peace. These brothers were annoyed by the laughter and jeers of the people, and they asked St. Francis if they could have another greeting. His response was: "Do not mind them, for as yet they do not know the message we bring from God. Be not ashamed to give the message of peace, little Brothers, for the time will come when even the rich ones and the princes of this world shall honor you and your Brothers because of this greeting of peace."

St. Francis had a real inward peace, and he wanted his followers to have the same peace and not just an outward peace of words. He taught them thus: "If you are to preach peace by your words, you can not do it unless you have peace overflowing in your own hearts. Be angered with no one. Do not vex



any man. By your meekness show others how to be peaceful and merciful. For we are glad to heal the wounded, and help the sorrowful and those whose hearts are hurt."

St. Francis meant his peace to be a practical thing.

One day as he was approaching the town of Arezzo, he found a dreadful battle going on. He set out to bring about peace. "Francis went to the center of the excited mob and clearing a space about him cried out so that all might hear: 'The Lord give you His peace!' Into the words he put all his faith and love, and like oil upon stormy waters at sea, they spread from heart to heart. The swords dropped from the hands of the fighters. The spears were lowered. Men grew ashamed of fighting with their own friends and relatives and fellow townsmen. Fighting ceased. Francis, the man of peace, became the saviour of the city." We could cite several other similar incidents, some in which he failed to bring about peace, and others in which he gained a real peace. He went about the country, and in his peaceful manner put down strife.

St. Francis knew that to stamp out strife in this way was not to deal with the evil which caused these numberless wars. The real reason for the never-ending trouble lay in the feudal system described above. The vassal was compelled to swear war service to the lord on whose lands he lived. The retainers of the vassal had to give their over lords. This meant petty wars and raids on the part of lesser lords, and great wars on the part of the mighty princes and kings. Francis dealt a death blow to this whole military system through the Third Order, which he founded some years after his movement began.



"The Third Order was formed because there were many men and women, some of them married and with families, who wished to live the Franciscan life, but who could not be either priests or nuns. Many others could not give up their duties to follow the life of the lay Brothers. Francis formed the Third Order, which permitted all who wished to live a religious life modeled upon that of Francis and his Brothers to do so while still living in the world and doing their usual duties. In the Third Order Francis struck his mighty blow at the feudal system, by making a rule that the Brothers of Penance, as the members of the Third Order were called, should not carry weapons, or have anything to do with giving them to others. They were also to refuse to take solemn oaths, except where matters of religion were concerned, or a case of law in a court.

"One by one the bishops came to the support of the movement, and lastly the pope gave his official sanction, and the Third Order was a recognized religious body, and its members were free from the necessity of military oath, and they were given some protection against their lords. The poor people flocked to the movement, and nearly half of Italy and many other countries were gathered around these orders. It even attracted many of the people of high birth and rank, and in the course of time the Franciscan peace movement changed the whole system of society in Europe." 1. This peace movement was like a beam of guiding light in the path of the blind and stumbling medieval people.

---

1. General reference for the above quotations on St. Francis; Williams, pg 129-144.





Following close after St. Francis came the great poet Dante with his contribution toward the pacific ideal (Dante, 1265-1321). "It is the Chief merit of Dante, which makes him perhaps the first conscious consequent pacific thinker of the world, that he recognized with perfect clearness the truth (which many people who declaim the cause and effectiveness of the League of Nations and of the World Court seem not at all to realize) that without the organization of a kind of super-state, without a real sovereign power above all the nations, the idea of peace will remain Utopia." 1.

Dante's ideas develop as follows: "Just as individuals develop judgment through rest and peace, so also is mankind as a whole best able to exercise its real purpose when it lives in concord. The best means of promoting the welfare of mankind is peace. Therefore the heavenly host exclaim 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.' The greeting of the Redeemer was, 'Peace be unto you'. This is the highest salutation.

"But what is the shortest road to universal peace?

"Whenever many work together for one purpose it is necessary that one person guide them. in order that children and domestics may get on well -- which is the purpose of the family -- it is necessary that the father of the house should instruct and command them. A locality where several families live together, in order to provide for themselves mutually, must have its judge, the city its magistrate, otherwise the community dissolves. What is true of the city is true also of the empire,

---

1. Engelmann, pg 105. See Bibliography.



where concern for adequate welfare and peace is far greater; but in order that the empire may not disintergrate, a king must rule over it. 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house divided against a house falleth.' 1. Therefore mankind, which has its common purpose, must have its common ruler. The order that is necessary to the parts is necessary to the whole. Mankind is created in the image of God. The more it becomes like God the better off mankind will be, and God, our master is the one and only God. In God alone is the real unity. Mankind will be most united when it unites itself under one ruler who guides all, according to equal laws, just as the movements of the heavens follow one law. So thought Boethius, also, when he said, 'How well you would fare, mankind, if the love which rules the universe ruled your souls.'

"Where disputes may arise, a judge must not be wanting, else it is badly ordered. Between two princes, of whom the one is not subordinated to the other, disputes may arise through their own fault or the fault of their subjects. Therefore there must be a judge whose judicial power extends over both. If in addition to this one there is another like him, standing outside his jurisdiction, then there must be still another judge who has power over both. Thus we arrive finally at the necessity of having a supreme judge whose decisions will put an end to all disputes. Too many princes are an evil. There should be one ruler.

---

1. Luke XI: 17.



"The world is best ordered when justice is most effective; but only the Ruler of mankind is able to dispense perfect justice. Like a pure white color, justice is all too easily soiled. It may even meet resistance in the mind of the judge. If the will is not free from all desire, justice, though obtainable, will not remain entirely pure. Therefore, that which can be decided by law should not be left to the discretion of the judge, and it is just to banish everyone who seeks through passion to confuse the mind of the judge; but the judge may lack the necessary power to execute the law. The Monarch who rules over all mankind is the most willing and the most influential in causing justice to prevail. In him desire has ceased; he has nothing left to wish for; only the ocean limits the circle of his power. Therefore he is best fitted for justice, because he is most capable of benevolence, for as justice is extinguished by desire, it is also kindled by genuine love, for love seeks the welfare of mankind, which is best fostered through peace, and peace, in turn, through justice. Therefore love strengthens justice in the highest degree. That the universal Ruler will cherish the greatest love for the people and their welfare follows from the fact that everything worth loving is loved the more the nearer it comes to belonging to the lover and the more it is his work. . . . . " 1.

At the same time Dante was doing his work along the line of universal peace, a Frenchman by the name of Pierre du Bois (1250-1312) was also turning his attention somewhat in that direction. Becoming concerned with the way the crusades were carried on, he set up a plan for a successful crusade.

1. Engelmann, pgs 107-109.





And also, since he held to the Gallican idea of the Church-rights outside the authority of the pope, he objected in many ways to that dignitary. This objection to the pope, the staunch military power of the day, was no small step toward peace.

Another glimpse at a thought for peace is found in a man by the name of Raymond Lull, in the year 1315. He is of some note for his famous missionary work to the Moslems in North Africa. He spoke against the Church's violent method of conversion by the sword, saying; "They think they can conquer by force of arms; it seems to me that the victory can be won in no other way than as Thou, O Lord Christ, didst seek to win it, by love and prayer and self sacrifice." 1.

Near the end of the fourteenth century we have the memorable works of John Wycliffe that lend much support to the peace ideal in the world. He spoke gravely and plainly in the face of the prevailing war system. "The war carried on in Flanders in favour of Pope Urban is adverted to, and appears to have disposed the mind of Wycliffe to the tone of expression observable in this part of the work. He complains much of the conduct of the clergy in this respect. He observes, 'They should be labourers for peace, but in word and deed they favour war, taking it as law that it is right to annoy an enemy in whatever way he can. But the charity of the Christ bids the contrary. -- The virtue of charity (love) should be most in clerks, but envy is most in them when they are turned to evil.'" 2.

---

1. Robertson, pg. 25

2. Vaughn, pg 69. See Bibliography.



"The advocates of war made their appeal to the Old Testament. The reply of Wycliffe was -- 'In the old law men fought with God's enemies, to avenge God's injuries, and by no other cause, and neither will men now if their fighting be lawful' Men, he contends, should war as the Israelites did, only when commissioned as they were. Attention to this rule would bring the fulfilment of the prophecy -- 'Men shall break their swords into ploughshares, and learn war no more.' 1.

'Yet Anti-Christ argues to keep men fighting, though humanity teaches that men should not fight. Their saying is -- Since an adder by his nature stings a man that treads on him, why should not we fight against our enemies, for else they will destroy us? What man that hath wit can not see this fallacy? Well I know that angels withstood fiends, and many men with right of law withstand their enemies, and yet they kill them not, neither fight with them; and wise men of the world hold it well thus to vanquish their enemies without striking; and wise men of the Gospel vanquish by patience, and come to rest and peace by suffering of death. Well I know that worldly men will scorn this sentence, but men who would be martyrs for the law of God will hold with it'.

"The argument of Wycliffe seems to involve, to the full, the Quaker principle on the subject of war. He admits that God has 'approved that knights should defend his law by strength', but insists that he has not granted them permission to 'kill any man'. It was said -- 'But the pope approves

---

1. Isaiah II: 4.



crusades;' and the answer was, that such a fact proves nothing, unless it can be proved that the pope is nearer infallibility than Peter. 'Christ is a good shepherd, for he puts his own life for the saving of the sheep; but Antichrist is a wolf of ravening, for he does ever the reverse, for he puts many thousand lives in the place of his own wretched life. By forsaking things which Christ bids priests forsake, he might cease all this strife. Why is he not a fiend, though a priest, who fights in this cause, stained foul with homicide? For if manslaying in others be odious to God, much more in priests, who should be vicars of Christ. And certain I am, the pope, and all the men of his council can not produce a spark of reason to show that he should do this.'

" . . . . . What is called the right of conquest, he treats as only so much robbery on a large scale. If the Almighty should 'bid conquest', such a title might become valid, not otherwise. 'Lord!', he exclaims, 'what honour falls to a knight that he kills many men? -- the hangman killeth more, and with a better title. It were better be butchers of beasts than butchers of our brethern, for this were more unnatural!'" <sup>1.</sup>

In one of his treatises against the Friars Wycliffe speaks thusly: "Also friars be irregular procurators of the fiend, to make and maintain wars on Christian men, and enemies of peace and charity. For friars counsel and openly preach that men should flee to heaven without pain, if they would go and slay in their own person, or maintain and find one at their cost to slay Christian men. . . . . Christ died to

1. Vaughn, pg 69-f.





make peace and charity, and if men might thus freely grant pardon, they should, yea to leese (lose)\* their own life, grant pardon to make peace. Yet they preach not pardon nor meed (help)\* to make peace and charity; and yet they be bound of God to make men siker (true or well)\* to have the bliss of heaven if they will truly procure for peach and charity. . . . . And so of other wars and debates that friars might let (hinder)\*, if they would; and since they do not, but rather counsel thereto, and comfort men therein, and tell not the perils of them, they be cause and procurators of all wars, and especially of this war in Flanders; for they preached that and had it forth against the king, the duke, and other lords and clerks, and sharply pursued priests that stood by charity, and profit of the realm. . . . ."

In another treatise against the Friars he speaks in the following manner: "They counsel to wars, for they win much thereby; and for default of charity they send souls to hell, when men by their counsel take false wars, and end in them, weening (supposing)\* that they do well, and therefore die without sorrow of them. And for to heart men in this cursed warring, they go with them into war, and be their confessors, and sometimes slay men in their own person; and thus they be Antichrist's martyrs, and flee to hell, to draw other men thither after them." 1.

Wycliffe naturally gained the antagonism and persecution of the ecclesiastical powers by stating his views in such a bold and plain manner. There were, however, a good many

1. Vaughn, pg 238-9.

\* Literal translations of the 'Old English'.



people that shared his views and these formed a group or school known as the Lollards. 1. This was a group of pacific thinkers whose thoughts and actions had far reaching effect. The work of Wycliffe and the Lollards was by no means limited to England. We find seeds of this movement in the distant soil of Bohemia. There the Moravian movement sprang up and continued in the idea of peace and non-resistance. The Moravians were severely persecuted but they did not give up their ideals. The Moravians are still strong today, and we shall have more to say about them later. 1.

In 1385 Richard II of England made the first notable attempt to limit the conditions of warfare. This was purely a political and selfish move on his part, but it did have some effect upon the blood-soaked world. We can by no means class Richard II among the pacifists (He persecuted the Lollards and other pacifists.) but he did make an attempt toward the lessening of war and its horrors.

These movements continued through the fifteenth century and built up foundation for the great reformation that followed. Education and enlightenment brought also hope for a brighter day when war would be eliminated from the necessities of life.

---

1. Thorndike, pg 564, note #1, says, "The origin of the word 'Lollards,' a term of reproach applied to the followers of Wycliffe by their enemies, has been disputed. But the word 'loller' often occurs in 'The Vision of Piers the Ploughman', and evidently means one who lolls about and reclines at his ease; in other words, an idler, loafer, vagabond, or irregular wandering clerk or hermit. This last is the sort of life that the poet represents himself as leading when he was 'clothed as a loller . . . in these long clothes.'"

2. General reference for Lollards; Holmes, pg 190-f. & Nagler, pg 135. See Bibliography.



## CHAPTER IX

## THE UPWARD TREND OF PEACE

1500-1935

After 1500 the Church was still engaged in the bloody business of conversion by the sword, though perhaps not to as great an extent as in the previous period. There were many objections to this conduct of the Church, and public opinion waxed so strong against it that it was eventually eliminated from the program of the Church. In the early part of the sixteenth century, "The Spanish missionary Las Casas, who earned the title of the 'Apostle of Mexico', urged, in contravention to the methods adopted by his fellow countrymen, that men ought to be converted only by persuasion, and that it was not lawful for Christians to carry on war against infidels merely on the ground that they were infidels." 1.

Another type of evidence for peace is found in the life and work of Hendrick Nicholas who founded the Familist (The Family of Love) in England about 1540. This was a variation of the pietistic and spiritualistic movement that came along with the reformation. It was persecuted, and was short lived. In their pietistic ideas, the Familists were opposed to all war and strife, and they lived on the spirit-

---

1. Robertson, pg 25.





ualistic principle of peace and non-resistance. This movement had considerable effect in England while it lasted, and it was also felt in the countries of Europe.

Before we proceed too far into this period, we should perhaps consider the attitude of some of the great reformers upon the subject of war. (This will cause a slight deviation from our attempted chronological order, but the reformers best fit in our thought pattern at this point.) To begin with, we have matters rather mixed up in the person of the best known of all of the reformers -- Martin Luther. Luther's early idea was that it was not permissible to meet violence with violence, especially against the Emperor. He maintained that according to the Gospel, unjust persecution was to be suffered with Christian resignation and in the expectation of final assistance from above. He made these peace statements over and over again, and further said that the kingdom of God knew only a yielding disposition, humility, and submission; every true Christian must allow himself to be oppressed and disgraced. He was persuaded that God was on his side and that he would enjoy the protection of heaven, and did not need to protect himself. The question also arose as to whether the princes that favored him should give him military support in furthering the Gospel. He knew that if military force were to be invoked in support of his message, his mission would probably end in failure. The prospects of success on the part of the princes who favored him were slight, and he felt that the frightful misfortune of war had



better be averted for humanitarian reasons. He desired that the princes make their religious way as peaceably as possible and without any conflict. The turning point in Luther's ideas came at the diet of Augsburg in 1531. " . . . . . Just prior to the assembly of the diet of Augsburg, he explained to his elector in a rather lengthy memorandum that military resistance 'can in no wise be reconciled with Scripture'. 'In the confusion and tumult which would ensue,' he says, 'everyone would want to be emperor, and what horrible bloodshed and misery would that not cause!' 'A Christian ought to be ready to suffer violence and injustice, more particularly from his own ruler.' It was preferable to sacrifice life and limb, i.e. endure martyrdom. It seems that he was at that time very much frightened at the thought of the 'disgrace' which would attach to his doctrine if it stirred up a religious war." 1.

When Luther shortly came to the point where he reversed his position and began to advocate war, not only a war of defense but a war of aggression, this statement caused him a good deal of embarrassment and he had to do a lot of explaining. On the other hand, we see that he had not always held to a strict peaceful attitude throughout the early part of his ministry. We in no wise could call him a thorough going pacifist, for in any and all of his peace statements he makes some reservations or exceptions, and he seems to hold that war is unavoidable, and may be even necessary, but it

1. Grisar, pg 423. See Bibliography.



is the Christian's duty to refrain from using the method. The idea never came to him that there was no necessity for war, and that it could be done away with entirely. From the very beginning Luther had some militaristic feelings. His agitated temperament and zeal for the Gospel gained the ascendancy at times and he then wanted to further the cause by force. In 1522 he stated that "Every power must yield to the Gospel." "Not only the spiritual, but also the secular power, must yield to the Gospel whether cheerfully or otherwise." "Not a hair's breadth will I yield to the opponents"; and: "If war will ensue, let there be war." In 1523 he conceded to the Elector Fredrick the right to bear arms in defense of the Gospel provided he did it as a stranger coming to the rescue rather than as a Christian prince engaged in his own affairs. In 1529 he gave out the opinion that "There must be no resistance unless actual violence is done or dire necessity compels." And the following year, in sort of self justification he said; "If Germany will perish, if it will go to rack and ruin, how can I help it? I can not save it. "

Luther was rather inconsistent and from time to time went which ever way he felt he could gain the most for his cause. But after the diet of Augsburg in 1531, which marks the distinct turning point in his attitude toward war, he gave the opinion that "We may not deviate a hair's breadth on the plea of disturbing the public peace. We must trust in God who has thus far protected His Church during the most terrible wars." In 1536 he subscribed to a document emphasizing the duty to





offer armed resistance in protection of the Gospel and in that regard said, "I, Martin Luther, will do my best by prayer and, if needs be, with the fist." In his later excitement he even wished the death penalty against the pope and his rabble, thus in 1540 we have his words: "But to take up arms in common against all the monks and shavelings; I too shall join in, for it is right to slay the miscreants like dogs." And in regards to the Turks he offered the opinion that, "We shall not prevail against the Turks unless we slay them in time, together with the priests, and even hurl them to death."

In this reformer we can claim a little support for the pacific ideal, though it is not a very complete or enthusiastic support. Luther, in his limited pacific attempts, was not aiming at the ideal of peace for its own sake, but rather he was using peace as a means to further his own cause for the moment. He wanted peace when it seemed to be the best and most beneficial course to pursue, and when force seemed best, that was his cry and goal. He leaves with us the feeling that war is ultimately wrong and doomed to certain failure in the distant future. The follower of Christ is obliged to be peaceful and to promote peace, as Luther expressed himself, but there also comes a breaking point where Christians can no longer be peaceful but must use force (fists). 1.

Let us turn our attention to another character in this reform movement, that of Ulrich Zwingli. This Swiss reformer

---

1. General reference for above quotations, Grisar, pg 421-ff.



does not present us with such a mixture of ideas upon the subject of peace and war. Zwingli was far from a pacifist, yet one can hardly call him a militarist in the strict sense of the term. He was a conscientious Christian and tried to follow the teachings of Jesus as best he knew how. It is our opinion that Zwingli made greater and more spiritual reform in the Church than did Luther, the father of the reformation. We are not here concerned with the ecclesiastical and Church reforms, but the concept of the place of war and peace in the lives of Christians. Zwingli lived at peace with all men as much as was possible, and he tried to teach his people to do so. But a clear pacific position was far from the thoughts and vision of Zwingli. It was not within the tradition or thought of the Swiss people to have perfect peace.

The Swiss mercenary soldiers were the best in the world. Every country made a bid for their services. Zwingli preached against this mercenary service because its many vices were corrupting the morals of the people, both by the returning soldiers bringing in corruption from the outside, and by the people coveting the gold of military service and neglecting their land and culture for this unholy gain. Zwingli was not against war itself. Of course, we could not say that he was a promoter of aggressive wars, for he believed in using force as only the last resort. Not believing or realizing that it was possible to do without war entirely, this last resort came much more quickly and frequently than otherwise



would have been the case. Zwingli approved of the force that was used within the country to bring about some of the radical ecclesiastical reforms he advocated. And when civil war spread among the various Swiss Cantons, Zwingli was to be found among the number of his troops, administering physical and spiritual aid wherever he could. Thus we find him giving his whole-hearted sanction to war whenever he felt that war was necessary. Zwingli died in battle, or rather was wounded and taken captive by the opponents and there his death was gruesomely accomplished. 1.

We can find no aid in our search for the rise of the pacific spirit in this reformer. All of his force and effort went the other way -- to the side of the customary belief in war and its holiness under certain conditions. We shall have to look further and see if we can find other light for our subject among the reformers.

Calvin, another great leader in the reformation movement, touches a little upon this matter. Calvin was a realist, so much so that he was not captured by the glamour of war. He clearly recognized its evils. He noticed the fierceness which usually is found in the military profession and condemned it as being utterly unbecoming to the servants of Christ. He held that since the soldiers undergo all manner of hardships in the army to serve the devil, Christians should be willing to undergo much greater hardships in serving Christ. Calvin clearly saw all of the unchristian aspects of war such

---

1. General reference for Zwingli, Simpson, index.

— See Bibliography.





as cruelties, thefts, reprisals, extortions, and acts of violence. The futility of war was clear to him, too, for he said that "We are not at all surprised, when a war is finished, if it begins over again right away."

We can not say, though, that Calvin was a pacifist, for he did by no means condemn all war. He decried war, as was the custom of his time, but his sanction of the use of arms in certain conditions was also in keeping with the spirit of his day. The Anabaptists (of whom we shall speak later) were pure pacifists in the full sense of the term, and Calvin had no patience with them. He exhorted the Christians to non-resistance and patient endurance, but this did not have any connection with the unrighteousness of war in his thinking. In his 'Contre les Anabaptistes' Calvin speaks of them as follows:

"Finally they (the Anabaptists) conclude that all use of arms is a diabolical thing. Now it is true that the use of the sword ought not to be permitted to any private individual, to make resistance to evil; for the arms of Christians are prayer and meekness, to possess their lives in patience and overcome evil by doing good, according to the doctrine of the Gospel. The duty then of each of us is to suffer patiently if some outrage is done us, not to use force and violence.

"But to condemn the public use of the sword, which God has ordained for our protection, is blasphemy against God himself. According to the spirit of God, uttered by St. Paul, the magistrate is a servant of God in our behalf, to repress



and curb the violence of the wicked. The sword is placed in his hand to punish malefactors. Since God orders him to do this, who are we to hinder him? . . . . .

"Furthermore, it is clear that it is the intention of these poor fanatics to condemn all munitions, fortresses, bearing of arms, and all such things which make for the defense of the country: and to prevent subjects from obeying their princes and superiors when they want these to be used in time of need. . . . . But let us remember that it is to usurp the authority of God to condemn as bad what our Lord has permitted to us. He never forbade the use of arms to princes, to maintain their peace among those who molest them wrongfully: the Scripture does not say so." 1.

Calvin recognized that Jesus taught that swords should be made into plowshares, but he hastens to add that Jesus did not forbid fighting when it was necessary. Calvin felt that the Christian prince should do all he could to preserve the peace at all costs, and that war should be used only as the last resort. Calvin is plain in saying that when these peaceful means fail "the last refuge is to use the sword which God has placed in his (man's) hand." This could be called a pacific position if we had some superior criterion or judge by which we could tell when the sword was placed in our hand by God and when by the devil or by our own desires. Calvin offered no solution for this higher judgment. As we said before, his position was just that of the general opinion of his day. Not a great advance has been made over this idea.

---

1. Harkness, pg 235-f. See Bibliography.



Most of the people have gone on repeating this and similar ideas, and continued to scorn such people as the Anabaptists. 1.

But in Erasmus, one of the great scholars of the reformation, we have a staunch supporter of the pacific ideal. 2. Erasmus made a bold declaration of the absolute wickedness and folly of war. He was deeply impressed with the great waste that accompanied war, and he believed with all his heart that the motives that prompted war were wrong. It took a world of courage for a man to stand out and express his ideas against war when the whole world was ablaze with the warlike spirit. Erasmus pointed out that bravery is a lot easier in war, for there we see even the poorest kind of men full of the bravery of war, but to govern the spirit, curb desires, and restrain the temper requires a courage that is peculiar only to the wise and good. His treatise upon the "Complaint of Peace" is a striking example of his determined peace ideal.

In his day war was the steady diet of the whole earth, and Erasmus did not miss an opportunity to condemn any sort of war or bloodshed. All war was condemned, be the cause as just as it might seem, but a papal war was the limit of all things. "War was bad enough at its best, but a papal war was a scandal to the name of Christianity, and a fighting pope was to him a monster of iniquity. He held his pen quiet enough at the time, but the impression of this pope, Julius II, leading a campaign for the recovery of Bologna from the French never quite left him. It served him for a text

---

1. Harkness, pg 234-f.

2. Desiderius Erasmus, a Dutch scholar (1466? - 1536)





whenever he felt free to speak his mind on the subject of war or on the decline of virtue in the Church. A turn in affairs gave Bologna to Julius II and furnished to Erasmus the opportunity of seeing the triumphal entry of the pope into his city." 1.

We may consider Erasmus as the father of the modern peace movement. At a time when popular opinion was far from such thoughts, he ventured to put forth his convictions concerning the possibility of peace -- a universal peace for all mankind. Erasmus ran no small risk in stating his views, and a less brave orator would have turned his words in praise of the glory of the militaristic system. It is strange that Erasmus did not have to pay a greater price for the plain utterance of his convictions. That he did not receive more attention and that he was not persecuted for his ideas shows us something of the conditions of the time. His idea of universal peace -- under all conditions -- was so far beyond the conception of the people of that day that they did not even take him seriously. They smiled and laughed at his exhortations of peace, and let him, as a scholar, guide his pen in whatever way he liked, while they kept wielding their arms in mortal combat. If the world had perhaps been a little more advanced along this line, they would have seen that he intended to effect their system of life, and they would have taken issue with him, causing him a great deal of suffering and hardship. As it was, they thought he was talking of some fairy tale, for the thought of peace was out of the range of

---

1. Emerton, pgs 118 & 138-f. See Bibliography.



the minds of the people. Thus, in this man, we have the birth of our modern peace movement.

From now on we shall have to move more rapidly. We are coming to the place in history with which we are all perhaps more familiar. It is also a period in which the evidence for peace is piling up in increasing proportions. We shall have to speak more in generalizations and summaries, and leave the details for the reader to discover at his desire. We are now beginning to feel, in this study, like some camper on a lofty peak who has awakened out of a long dark night to find the chilly grey of dawn breaking around him. The merry chirp and hustle of the birds in the trees about him is like the warm glow that awakens in our hearts as we see the breaking of this new dawn of peace upon the world. Like the dawn, it is slow and long in coming, and it is the coldest part of the night, but we bid it welcome for we know that warmth and light lie ahead.

Turning the pages to the chapter of the seventeenth century we find that the "Great Design" of Henry IV of France was the "first comprehensive scheme in modern history to organize the world. The king or his minister. . . . . had planned a federation of the European states, with a central senate and proportionate contributions from the various nations to the common international army and navy, which would insure the substitution of legal methods for the prevailing system of war." 1. This did not contain the ultimate pacific ideal, but it was an overture in the direction of world peace.

1. Mead, pg 5. See Bibliography.



This overture coming from a king makes it all the more significant, and shows that the peace conscience was beginning to awaken, however feeble it may have been at first.

At the quarter mark of the seventeenth century, there emerged from the obscure little country of Holland a bold stand for peace promoted in the person of Hugo Grotius. His greatest and most familiar work upon peace is entitled "The Rights of War and Peace." Grotius was one of the greatest scholars of his day. Perhaps we might compare him to his predecessor Erasmus, though in truth we must recognize at the outset that Grotius was not as pure and as thorough a pacifist as was Erasmus. "'The Rights of War and Peace' was the first great attempt to deduce a principle of right and a philosophical basis for society independent of Biblical and ecclesiastical authority. It had an immediate effect all over Europe. Gustavous Adolphus is said to have slept during his campaigns with a copy under his head of this great work by the man who is properly called 'the father of International law.'" 1.

Grotius' great attempt for peace came out in a religious struggle within his own country over the variations of the Calvinistic doctrine. He pleaded, to the extent of endangering his life, for toleration and peace. Strong and heroic as his pleas were, he was not able to achieve the peace for which he strived. A religious war broke out and conditions were such that Grotius felt it necessary to support his side, which he felt to be the right side, in the struggle. This eliminates

1. Mead, pg 6.





him from our roll of pure pacifists. The warring power against his side was too strong and he was taken among other captives and sent off to prison. But he did not stay in prison overly long before his escape was effected, and he went to France where he took up his work and studies, receiving a warm and hearty welcome from that land.

From the very beginning he was confronted with the question regarding the right of waging war. "He declares that war is legitimate if just, and in answer to the question what is a just and proper motive for war, he allows simply one cause, -- a sincere desire for justice. . . . .

"As another example of his method, take his dealing with the question of wars for religion. He gives many reasonings which are precious, but, with them, some which seem to us in these days fallacious and even dangerous. He contends, for example, like all men of his time that war is lawful to avenge insults offered to God, and brings this contention into accord with his fundamental assertion as to the proper motive for war by arguing that when any nation insults the Almighty it endangers the very foundations upon which all nations repose, thus violating the rights of all; and that war to maintain these rights is of course allowable." 1. We need not pause here to point out the weakness of this idea, high and lofty as it might have been for his day. It is enough to say that every little detail in differences of religious opinions could and was taken as an offense toward God and as a just cause and reason for war.

---

1. White, pg 68. See Bibliography



Again we see that "A striking example of Grotius' method, both in its weakness and in its strength, is his decision of the question how far war shall be extended as to methods and persons. This was a question of capital importance. In his time, the theory and practice of antiquity and the middle ages were in cruel force. A vast array of authorities, from the commands of Jehovah to the children of Israel down to the latest orders in the Thirty Year's War, were frightfully cruel. Not only might combatants who had laid down their arms be massacred, but non-combatants; and not only men, but women and children. To the question -- where is the limit to what is lawful and unlawful? -- he answers: 'The substance of the evil ought to be in proportion to the right sought and the culpability of the enemy refusing to grant the right.' From this it is easy for any one to follow him to the conclusion that, in modern times, the criminality of the enemy can rarely, if ever, be so great as to warrent the massacre of prisoners, and never so great as to warrent such reprisals as the slaughter and outrage of innocent non-combatants.

"That some of his concessions were dangerous was the fault of the age. Grotius could not, in the seventeenth century, have solved the questions at issue otherwise. Had he not paid every respect to the Old Testament authorities, he would not only have done violence to his own convictions, but would have insured the suppression of his book, by both Catholics and Protestants, as blasphemous. But, even in the midst of these concessions, he seeks to deduce from its best source a 'Law of Nations' distinct from the 'Law of Nature', yet



combining with it. He brings a mass of arguments to bear against assassination, against dishonor and cruelty to women and children, against plunder, against the whole train of atrocities common in this time; and finds authority for his declaration after his usual method: by citing the ideas and practices of the noblest warriors and thinkers of all nations and periods, thus stimulating the leading warriors and statesmen of his time, of whatever creed or party, to admire and imitate the noblest examples. The renaissance had not spent its force. It was a period when, as never since, statesmen and generals emulated the great men of antiquity, and Grotius' method proved fruitful in clemency." 1.

Thus the cause of peace is furthered from within the ranks of the statesmen. This is perhaps the first noticable political attempt at peace, though we have cited some other attempts made by men studied above. Grotius was not a pure pacifist, but it is heartening to note that his peace ideas were based mostly upon political and humanitarian foundations, though of course they received their impetus from religion. When the state begins to see the desirability and necessity of peace, we can hope for greater strides forward.

George Fox is the next character in this drama of peace, coming into activity about the year 1647. George Fox is known for his work in the movement that we have today in the form of the Quakers or Friends. We shall be concerned now with the man himself, and we shall do best by letting him speak for himself. He gave probably the best expression to his views

---

1. White, pgs 69-f. & General reference pgs 68-f, & 89-f.





upon the question of war during his imprisonment at Derby. Under one of the laws passed by Parliament in 1648 he was sentenced to six months in jail for blasphemy. He had been discussing religious matters with some soldiers and army officials, and they brought the accusations. We might also note before turning to his words that George Fox had been a soldier of some merit and ability, for as we shall soon see, he was considered capable of being a captain in Cromwell's army. And now in his own words he speaks to us:

"The time of my commitment to the house of correction being very nearly ended, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried out that they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place, where they offered me that preferment, as they called it, asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart. I told them I knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars.\*

"Yet they courted me to accept of their offer, and though I did not compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue; and such-like flattering words they used. But I told

---

\* Editors note says, "This is the true ground of opposition to war, namely, that a Christian is to live a life that does away with the occasion for war." Jones, pg 118-f. See Bibliography.



them, if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet.

"Then their rage got up, and they said, 'Take him away, jailer, and put him into the prison amongst the rogues and felons.' So I was put into a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year;\* yet at times they would let me walk to the garden, believing I would not go away."

Further speaking of his prison life he says, "While I was in prison there was a young woman in jail for robbing her master. When she was to be tried for her life I wrote to the judge and jury, showing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put to death for stealing, and moving them to show mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her, and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God; and that all should fear the Lord, avoid earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it; this I gave to be read at the gallows. And, though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back to prison, where she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth."

Thus we behold his attitude toward capital punishment and toward all manner of force and violence. And again he speaks

---

\* Editor's note says, "He was imprisoned on a definite charge for six months, and then, without any further trial, apparently because he would not join Cromwell's army, he was held in close confinement for nearly six months more." Jones, pg 119.



about the business of being a soldier: "The time of Worcester fight coming on, Justice Bennett sent constables to press me for a soldier, seeing I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told them that I was brought off from outward wars. They came again to give me press-money; but I would take none. Then I was brought up to Swegeant Holes, kept there awhile, and taken down again. Afterwards the constables brought me a second time before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them that where envy and hatred is there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I refused it. Being disappointed, they were angry, and committed me close prisoner, without bail or mainprize." 1.

Here for the first time, we have evidence of active pacifism. Up to this point we have considered theoretical pacifists -- those who have argued and spoken for peace -- but never before, except for those in the period of the early Church Fathers, have we come in contact with a person who has stood up against force and persuasion and at the expense of pain and bodily injury maintained not only his pacific ideals, but his own refusal to participate in force. Perhaps there have been others who have maintained this same position before George Fox. If so, they have not made their way into our records of history, or we have not at present acquainted ourselves with such records. This is rather unlikely to be the case, however, for if such a man there was, he would have been noticeable enough for that one reason, and

---

1. Jones, pgs 118-f; & general reference to Chapter IV.





he would readily have been brought to our attention. For the present we give to George Fox whatever honor this position may hold.

There was a great deal of trouble going on in Scotland at this time (1667), and all of the petty states were at war with each other. Religious matters were often at the bottom of the disturbances. Weary of this constant struggle, the council issued an order that all armies should be disbanded except the guards. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, exclaimed at this, saying; "'Now that the army is disbanded, the Gospel will go out of my diocese'. What idea that archprelate entertained of the Gospel may be easily conjectured. Now that the army was to be disbanded, it came to be a serious question with the privy council how the country was to keep in peace without a military power. It formed no part of their scheme to promote peace by abstaining from committing outrages upon the country. But they were divided between the enforcing of an old document and the framing of a new document to be termed the Bond of Peace. Chiefly through the influence of Sir Robert Murray, the council determined upon the Bond of Peace which was accordingly passed . . . . . on the ninth of October (1667).

"The Bond of Peace varied somewhat in its forms, but its chief provision was that the person making it bound and obligated himself to keep the public peace, and not to rise in arms against or without his majesty's authority; and in the act of council enforcing it, noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors were compelled to become bound for themselves, their



tenants, and servants, under the penalty of a full year's rent. The enforcement of this bond was likely enough to fill the coffers of the treasury; but there was another effect which it might have had, and was probably intended to have, -- it caused not a little discussion among religious and conscientious people whither it might be taken with propriety. . . .  
 . . . ." 1.

It is doubtful just how effective this Bond of Peace was. At least it was an attempt at a new idea -- that of promoting peace by abstaining from war and outrage. It seems that the people here in Scotland were beginning to learn that war on war did not make peace. Peace can only come through peace, and through striving peacefully for it.

This has been our first noticable attempt at a political means of peace for some time. This was not a peace for the sake of peace, but rather it was an attempt at peace as a means of solving political and financial difficulties. This does not exactly detract from the moral element in this Bond of Peace, for whenever man learns that peace, in any limited form, will further his cause more than force and strife we can say that an advance has been made. Though this peace was perhaps not very effective, it is at least another notch in the long ladder upwards. Perhaps we can consider this as a stepping stone to a greater experiment in political peacefulness that took place in our own country.

This experiment in peaceful government in America is taught and praised in one's earliest study of American history in the public schools. In my mind, I can yet quite plainly see the 1. Hetherington, pgs 232-f. See Bibliography.



pictures of William Penn, the founder and father of this great experiment in a government of peace, trading with the Indians in peace as pictured against the customary way of treating the Indians with a welcome of powder and bloody steel. The history of the early Quakers or Friends in Pennsylvania is a very dramatic story, and to do it justice we should spend many pages on it, but we must pause only to give it mention.

There were many laudable provisions in the charter of the Quakers, but we are going to hold our focus to that one characteristic of peacefulness. In this respect we note the lack of military and naval provisions for attack and defense. They recognized the necessity for policing forces, but they were sure they would never use any aggressive military machinery, and felt that they could trust their Christian graces to solve all of the problems that might leave them open to attack and thus make defensive operations necessary. It is this strong faith and determination to live an upright Christian life that brought them to this extreme position of radical pacifism.

All of the principles, including this idea of living in peace with the world, "had been many times expounded, and some of them practiced, before 1682. But the collection had not before been tried. It was the legitimate fruit of the religious principles of the Society of Friends and of the best thought and experience of William Penn. But it was only an 'Holy Experiment', -- the responsibility was very great, and many chances for failure must have been at least partly foreseen, and the spectacle of these pioneers mustering their confidence





in the 'Truth', risking their happiness, their fortunes, and the reputation of their religious society, is one of the exalted scenes of history. The measure of success they achieved deserves, probably, more recognition than it has received." 1.

If the reader has any special interest in this subject we recommend that he retreat to the above cited work and there fully acquaint himself with the details of the situation. The whole story of their experiment is most interesting.

Two philosophers had previously turned their attention along this line and formed a practical philosophical basis for the peace ideals. Hobbes (1588-1679) in his 'De Cive' set forth his basis for a peaceful government. "Even with the best intent to observe these natural laws, disputes will arise as to whether an act is in accord with the law. That the dispute may not lead to war, it is necessary that a third party, who regards both parties to the dispute as equal, judge the case. Natural law commands justice. No one should judge his own cause, for naturally each will seek first what is good and useful for himself, and justice for the sake of peace, only secondarily, from force of necessity.

'In order to establish security and peace, a common power must be formed which curbs the individual by means of fear of punishment. This can be done only if all subject themselves to one person or to a council whose will shall determine what is necessary for peace and common protection. Each must pledge himself to all, that he will not oppose that person or council,

---

1. Sharpless, pgs 120-ff. See Bibliography.



and he must support him with all powers at his disposal against those who oppose him. Thus the person or council will have sufficient power to force the individuals into agreement.

"This right -- to conduct war and conclude peace -- should belong to the same power or council that has the right to punish, for only the sovereign may force citizens to bear the flag and the burdens of war.

"The swords of justice and of war should be in the same hands -- the hands of the highest authority.

"To prevent a conflict is more essential to the achievement of peace than to hasten it. A conflict originates because men are of different opinions concerning what is mine and thine, just and unjust, useful and injurious, good and bad. It is for the sovereign authority to establish and proclaim rules so that everyone may know what to do and what not to do. This is called Legislation." 1.

Spinoza (1632-1677) presents a somewhat similar idea in his 'Tractatus Politicus'. "Peace and the security of life are the ultimate purposes of the state, and when we say life we mean human life, not merely animal existence. A good state is one in which men live in harmony and respect the laws. Insurrection, war and crimes are not to be ascribed to the baseness of citizens, but to the baseness of constitutions.

"There is no peace where terror keeps the citizens in check. Mere absence of war is not peace. Peace is healthfulness of soul; out of it springs unity. Obedience does not imply animal servility on the part of the subjects, but

1. Engelmann, pg 158-ff.



their constant willingness to conduct themselves according to law. We are here speaking of a state determined by a free people, not of the rule of a conqueror.

"According to experience it would seem that those constitutions were best suited to maintain peace within the state in which all power is vested in a single person; that, accordingly, an absolute monarchy would have the most enduring constitution; a democracy, on the contrary, the most insecure, the most exposed to revolutions. If peace is understood to mean slavery, there is nothing more deplorable than peace. Peace is the harmony of strong souls, not the ineffective weakness of slaves."

Farther on he says: "The army should consist of the citizens collectively and only of the citizens. Each should bear arms and be admitted to citizenship only after he is trained for defense service. The citizens should early engage in military exercises and should serve in the army without pay. Only in this way can they protect their liberty and be their own masters." 1.

These and other philosophers did something in preparing the way for the expression of a peaceful government in the Quaker colony. Though these philosophers were far from pacifists, they did have the germ of the idea of a universal peace which was the goal of the Friends. In 1693 William Penn himself elaborated a large scheme of an European Dyet Parliament of Estates" by which all disputes were to be settled. The nations would be represented by Deputies, and this type of

1. Engelmann, pgs 182-3.





a Court was to make all things final and satisfactory. All of these ideas and theories went into the American experiment in government.

The organization of Friends theoretically allowed each man to follow the dictates of his conscience. In this matter of peace and war there seems to have been an almost unanimity of opinion in support of the complete pacific ideal. Of course, as in any free and open movement, there were some on the border line, perhaps some from various walks of life where their surroundings caused them to hold different ideas, or yet a few who were new in the movement and had not reached its highest ideals. The conscience of most of the Friends would not permit them to participate in war in any case. However, a few of them did not object to militarism, at least in some respects, because they did not hold any conscientious objections toward it. These few, however, were quite in the minority, and our generalization still holds that the Friends, as a group, were adverse to all war and force and would have no part in it.

When this idea came to be put in practice there were naturally many obstacles to overcome. In the first place the world was operating upon a militaristic scheme of government, and to abandon this power of government meant almost certain, or at least eventual, extermination. This difficulty was recognized, but they braved the danger and attempted to live as they thought they should. They had the will and the spirit to try to live as Jesus lived and taught mankind to live. They



knew that a price had to be paid and they were willing to try to meet that price. The Friends held a majority -- a controlling majority -- in the assembly of their colony from its beginning until 1756, at which time difficulties were getting so great they resigned and turned the government over to the hands of others than their religious brothers.

During these years when the Friends had control of the colony, many militaristic problems arose. There was the necessity of supporting the king's armies, of providing some defense for their colony, and for aiding other colonies. For a good many years all of these problems were met successfully by the Quakers. They had an understanding with the King, and instead of voting money for militaristic purposes, they made it clear that all of their appropriations should be used for other things. On some occasions it was found that faith was not kept with them in this matter, and there was a good deal of disturbance until they were satisfied that they were not at least directly supporting military enterprises.

When danger of attack by the Indians or foreigners was realized, the Friends were at times persuaded to organize a militia, but they permitted this only upon a voluntary basis, and rarely, if ever, is there evidence of a member of the Friends in the militia. The Friends held that friendly and Christian dealings with all peoples would eliminate the necessity of these wars and attacks.

Sometimes the Friends backed down on their position. Giving money for general purposes instead of for war was only



a technicality. But what else could they do? We see the weakness of their position there, and so did they -- to the regret of many of their number. Their spirit and ideals maintained the same high pitch throughout all, despite the fact that the world set-up made it impossible to live harmoniously among peoples and yet not at least in some indirect way support the cause of the current wars. War was wrong, and they would have no part in it. However they had to lend reasonable support to the government. If they could have had the entire government in their hands (which would have meant freedom from the King and his Governor), they might have been able to carry out their ideal more completely. Then it would have been possible to try to their utmost to preserve peace through Christian relations with all men, races, and countries. All cause and necessity for war might have been abolished. Though their experiment in government ultimately failed, it marked, and still marks, the way for Christians to live in the future. Here in the life of the Friends we have three quarters of a century of peace, and in many respects no small degree of success. They have demonstrated to the world, beyond a plausible doubt, that it is possible to live and practice the ideals of Jesus. When the world may have become a little more Christ-like and be a little more favorable to pacific ideals, we will again find a group or nation, not just practicing, but living the ideal life of peace and brotherly love that Jesus held up to us. The Friends have initiated in our day a living example of the possibility of peace and have taken peace





out of the realm of utopia.

It might be well for us to review here some of the religious organizations that stood for peace and pacific ideals, although they have been considered before. Most, if not all, of these organizations persisted into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some of them are still strong and active in the year 1935. We have just given extensive consideration to the movement of the Quakers or Friends. This movement came into being near the middle of the seventeenth century under the leadership of George Fox whom we have considered above. 1. This group can be found throughout the world today, still living the ideal of peace as strong as ever. With them the pacific ideal was a real thing right from the beginning as we can see from a typical incident relating to the price that had to be paid for the holding and living of the ideal.

"Take, for example, the notable case of Richard Sellar, a fisherman of the city of Scarborough, England. In 1665, this man was impressed on an English man-o'-war, in the good old-fashioned method of recruiting in vogue in those days. When he was seized by the sailors he refused to go on board; and his captors were obliged to tie him up in a bag and throw him on to the ship with a derrick. Once aboard, he refused to obey orders to work the cannon, load the guns, handle the ammunition, and the rest. Whereupon he was thrown on the deck, heavily ironed, and kicked about like a football by the angry sailors. Why the man was not kicked to death, remains to this day a mystery. Still obdurate, in spite of the frightful mauling to which he was

1. Above, pg 157-ff.



subjected, he was at last taken before the captain of the ship, and put on trial for his life. Condemned of course on his own confession, he was sentenced to suffer the hideous penalty of being put into a large cask, through the sides of which huge iron nails had been driven in a hundred places, and rolled about the deck until he was dead. Without a word of complaint, Sellar made ready for the frightful ordeal and calmly awaited the appearance of the cask. By this time, however, the inconceivable patience and good will of the Quaker fisherman had made its impression not only upon the officers, but even upon the hardened sailors. Somehow or other, contrary to all expectations, they did not relish the idea of carrying out the sentence of the court, and put the matter off from day to day. Then suddenly a ship of the enemy was encountered, and in the battle which ensued, Sellar made himself so useful and showed himself so brave in caring for the wounded under fire, that after the fight was over, the captain took him to the nearest port, and, releasing him, gave him service-papers which protected him permanently from impressment." 1.

The Anabaptists are a reform group that have stood for the idea of peace under all circumstances. They maintained that the preachers and leaders of the reformation "mixed up the Old Testament with the New, unmindful of the fact that for the Christian the New Testament has superseded and abolished the Old; . . . . . they maintain that the

---

1. Holmes, pg 199-f.



(Bohemia) were the seeds of his (Wycliffe's) words planted; and here did they later spring up into the rich harvest of the Moravians, who constitute one of the most beautiful of all the heretical orders of the Middle Ages. Faithful in all things, they were especially faithful to the doctrine of non-resistance. Says one of the historians of the Moravian Church -- 'No weapon did they use except the pen. They never retaliated, never rebelled, never took up arms in their own defence, never even appealed to the arm of justice. When smitten on the one cheek, they turned the other also.' And this is true not merely of yesterday, be it recorded, but of today as well. For the Moravian Church, in spite of long persecution, still flourishes in Bohemia, and only a few years ago despatched a large delegation to the great International Congress of Religious Liberals in Berlin." 1.

The Waldenses, though originating several centuries previous to our present period, are not without effect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later. They stood for peace from their very beginning, as we have noticed in our earlier considerations of the movement. 2. The great school of the Lollards must also be taken into our account here again. 3. This movement, with the driving power of Wycliffe, was felt not only in England but all over the world, and they were definite and insistent upon the maintainance of the pacific ideal. We can not afford to leave the Cathari out of our considerations at this point. 4. Though

---

1. Holmes, pg 191-f & above, pg 141.

2. Above, pg 127-f.     3. Above, pg 121.     4. Above, pg 121.





they originated early and were spent by this time, they nevertheless were great enough and strong enough in their pacific tendencies to be recalled to our attention again. They should perhaps receive more than this brief space because of their pioneering in this field in the days when the whole world was against them. The Bahaists we see as a new group that has not come to our attention as yet. Their maintainance of the pacific idea of non-resistance is shown in the well known Armenian persecutions in which they were submissive, yet brave to the very death stroke. The stories of the ravages they suffered are plentiful and horrifying. Pacifism won for them when nothing else would have availed them against the Turks, as has been shown by other countries attempting to use force upon the Turks. These Bahaists were not Christians, but followers of Abdul Baha. Nevertheless their example is striking to us, and perhaps the more so because they are not Christians, yet living out its ideals. -- There are many other sects and groups of minor importance that we might mention here but space and time will not permit.

The ideas of the philosopher-statesman, Jeremy Bentham, also lent their strength and influence upon the side of peace. "The people have always lost through war and colonies," says Bentham in his work entitled a Constitutional Code.

"A representative democracy -- in which the supreme power is in the people and where rulers really represent the people who elect and reject them -- will scarcely engage in war. Such a state understands that the speculation to conduct war at the expense of the enemy is false, that the liabilities fall due



quickly and surely and in the end they are always greater than the assets. Excitement may kindle war; but to carry it on, hatred of others must be greater than egoism; and that, in the large masses and in the long run, is unthinkable.

"The largest possible militia, the smallest possible army -- that is the requisite for a well ordered security as well as for economy." 1. This political philosophy is quite a step above that of Hobbes and Spinoza which we considered above.

Kant also made a strong, but rather apologetic, plea for peace in his 'Perpetual Peace'. ". . . . . the eternal peace conception of Kant is closely akin to the ideal of the poet philosopher. This likeness goes beyond a mere analogy, for the peace speculation of Kant is based on the same assumption as is the system of the Florentine; peace is a postulate of the human soul in its struggle toward perfection, and it is in the divine plan of nature to lead us toward political conditions in which we could freely develop the really fertile and precious tendencies of human nature." 2. Kant gives the impression that he did not really expect anyone to practice peace immediately, but he held it up as a goal to attain in the years to come. This weakens Kant's stand for peace, but perhaps not too much. In his day peace did seem to be beyond the horizon, for the world was in a dreadful state of turmoil. But the idea of peace persisted, and will persist until it is accomplished.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Ralph Waldo Emerson brings his contribution to the pacific ideal. In his 'Lecture on War' which was first delivered in 1833 he set forth

1. Engelmann, pg 350-1.

2. Ibid, pg 105.



perhaps the clearest exposition of the doctrine of Christian non-resistance that we have in American literature. His 'Journals' bear up this testimony by giving us many interesting side lights upon his peace ideas; such as, "I wish the Christian principle, the ultra principle of non-resistance and returning good for evil, might once be tried fairly." 1. And again, "But to return to the principle of non-resistance -- I beleive that that principle should be trusted." 2. The experiences of the Civil War in his later life caused him to completely reverse his entire position upon this matter of the pacific ideal of non-resistance. We can not claim Emerson as a champion of non-resistance, but we can claim his earlier work, which marks a highlight in American literary history upon this subject. His experiences in the matter of pacifism are somewhat akin to those of Luther or Calvin, since he believed in the idea at first, but was forced by the experiences of his life to repudiate his earlier position.

Many remained to carry on the work of pacifism where Emerson turned aside. One of the most notable of these was William Lloyd Garrison, "who fought through the anti-slavery struggle from beginning to end, a leader of the leaders in the great battle of the giants, and kent his non-resistant principles inviolate to the close." 3. Through all of the hard and trying struggles of that period we find him making every sacrifice he was called upon to make in order to preserve his idea of peace. He would fight, fight to the death, but the

1. Emerson's Journals, October 3, 1831. See Bibliography.

2. Ibid, October 27, 1839.

3. Holmes, pg 202.





fight had to be carried on peaceably -- a fight of ideas and ideals.

As a co-worker with Garrison we find the great poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. He refused to use any weapons but the reasoning mind and the impassioned heart. His whole attitude is seen in a letter to a friend in 1859 where he refers to the "Brave but sadly misguided Captain Brown," as he pleased to call him. "We feel deeply (who does not?) for the noble-hearted, self-sacrificing old man. But as friends of peace, as well as believers in the Sermon on the Mount, we dare not lend any countenance to such attempts as that at Harper's Ferry. . . . . God is now putting our non-resistant principles to the test. I hope we shall not give the lie to our professions. I quite agree with thee that we must judge of Brown by his standards; but at the same time we must be true to our settled convictions, and to the duty we owe to humanity." <sup>1.</sup> The following is a sample of his work that brings out this sentiment:

"O pure Reformers! not in vain  
Your trust in human kind;  
The good which bloodshed could not gain,  
Your peaceful zeal shall find.

"The truths ye urge are borne abroad,  
By every wind and tide;  
The voice of nature and of God  
Speaks out upon your side.

"The weapons which your hands have found  
Are those which Heaven hath wrought,  
Light, Truth, and Love; your battle-ground  
The free, broad fields of thought.

---

1. Holmes, pg 204-f.



"Oh, may no selfish purpose break  
 The beauty of your plan,  
 No lie from throne or altar shake  
 Your steady faith in Man!"

The Civil War affords us another glimpse at the practical work of the Quakers in their maintenance of the pacific ideal. "When the Southern States found themselves hard pressed for soldiers in the closing days of the Rebellion, they began to seize Quakers, who up to this time had been excused from service, and ordered them to the front. In every case, the Confederate authorities were met with a pointblank refusal to take up arms, and in every case resolved to push the matter to the limit. Hundreds of Quakers were tried for treason before drum-head courtmartials, and nearly all of them were convicted and condemned to be shot. In many cases, they were actually seized, blindfolded, and stood up against a wall before a firing squad. But not a single recalcitrant, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was put to death. Execution was psychologically impossible in the face of such patient and unprotesting courage. Here again, as always with the Quakers, we have example not only of the sublimity but also of the practicability of non-resistance." 1.

The bright personality of that great Russian pacifist next catches our attention. Count Leo Tolstoi was first a great warrior, something like St. Francis of Assisi, but after his spiritual awakening he was perhaps the greatest proponent of peace in modern times. He knew something about the realities, hardships, and cruelties of war that gave a greater impetus to his

---

1. Holmes, pg 200.



work than was possible for any man who had not seen the lowly side of the un-christian strife of war. Though he lived in one of the most, if not the most, barbaric lands of Christendom, he was perhaps the outstanding pacific proponent since the time of the early Christians in the first centuries. If his writings were not so well known, we would feel the necessity of allotting him more time and space. "As a non-resistant, he can be compared to nobody who has lived and taught since the earliest days of primitive Christianity. He converted few to his viewpoint; and in the light of present events, it may well seem as though he lived in vain. But his memory, like a great sun shining upon wintry snows, abides, and will some day turn the world to fragrance and to beauty." 1.

The nineteenth century glistens with the great peace loving characters that blossomed out everywhere. We have been mentioning only some of the brightest of the highlights. We can do no more here than mention a few more of the names of these notable characters. Among the ranks of the peace lovers and peace workers we find such names as these: Noah Worcester, William Ladd, Jonathan Dymond, William E. Channing, Charles Sumner, Elihu Burritt, William Jay, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Henry Richard, Hodgson Pratt, Victor Hugo, Charles Lemonnier, Frederick Passy, Bertha von Suttner, John de Block, and Nicholas II. There are a multitude of others who have been working for peace in their own quiet and small way, but whom we would not have room to mention had we knowledge of them. These men are lending their effort, nevertheless, and





in a way that is as effective as any other -- that of working quietly and sincerely with their own small groups.

We must take large strides in this consideration of the peace movement in the last century. Many of the events, and many of the characters, are within our memory, and we shall have to leave the details for each reader to search out at his own liking. We can give here but a passing glance at the development of the peace movement.

1815 marks the founding of the world's first Peace Society, which was established by David Low Dodge, a New York merchant. He made membership in a Christian Church a prerequisite to membership in the peace society, and thus ever since, the peace movement in both America and England has been essentially a Christian movement. We might also add that the Jews the world over are always to be found among the friends of peace, and we note that some of our best free-thinkers and ardent peace supporters come from this nationality.

Shortly, within the same year (1815), the Massachusetts Peace Society was started in Boston by Noah Worcester and William E. Channing. In 1828 the American Peace Society held its first meeting in New York. Seven years later it moved to Hartford, Connecticut. Still later it moved to Boston where it remained until a quarter of a century ago when it moved to Washington. The Ohio Peace Society was organized in the same year as the Massachusetts society, and these were soon followed by many others.

A similar crop of peace movements sprang up in England in 1816 and followed almost a parallel development of the American



Peace Societies. The first International peace conference was started by the American Peace Society in Boston in 1841, the first meeting being held in London in 1843, with about three hundred delegates in attendance. The Interparliamentary Union was set under way in 1875. It was to consist of 3,600 members from parliaments of twenty-two nations. This was delayed somewhat by the Russo-Turkish war. First England and France held a peace meeting in Paris in 1888, and in the following year the Interparliamentary Union was successfully brought into existence.

The first resolution passed by any government in favor of arbitration was pushed through the British House of Commons by Henry Richard in 1875. In this last quarter of the nineteenth century, the desire for arbitration and cooperative meetings of the various parliaments of the world have increased exceedingly. Much has been done towards peace in the last century, but historically it is so close to us we can hardly grasp its significance. We have the notable examples of the Geneva Tribunal, which settled the Alabama claims in 1872; the Paris Tribunal that arbitrated the seals controversy in 1893; and the notable Hague Tribunal that settled the long standing North Atlantic Coast Fisheries dispute. All of these peaceful decisions lent their influence to the at least partial success of the Hague Conference in 1899.

Within the present century almost all of the various peace societies -- there are more than a thousand of them throughout the world -- have been brought into coordination under a few outstanding general organizations. The literature of these



movements is plentiful and accessible, and we will let them speak for themselves. It is surprising and revealing to look through a periodical catalogue and see the amount of literature that is given to the world by these numerous peace organizations -- and most of it is interesting and worth-while reading.

Money has also become a factor in the support of the peace movement. The various governments spend billions upon billions of dollars for war, yet the departments of state, whose business it is to promote peace, receive hardly enough to keep themselves together. This has caused the necessity of personal giving to the cause of peace. People have always supported the cause with their small gifts, but it was not until 1910 that the first large gift was made to the cause of peace. In that year Edwin Ginn gave one million dollars as an endowment to the International School of Peace. The following year the outstanding gifts of Andrew Carnegie were made, which ran up to a score or more millions of dollars. The Nobel Peace Prize might also be counted as one of the gifts to the cause of peace.

It would be out of keeping with our purpose here to try to carry this historical study farther. We are now upon familiar ground. The peace movements of this and the previous centuries have been treated separately and extensively in other works. In bringing our thoughts to a conclusion, we shall guide our attention only to some of the highlights of today. Peace has gone through a dark history. In the first century it experienced a dawning, but the sky soon clouded over and the





darkness that settled over the world was the darkness of death. But again the light of peace is dawning upon the world.

The unbelievably corrupt financial conditions that led to and continued the World War have been clearly exposed and made common knowledge. That a few men could sell the lives of their countrymen to make themselves insanely rich would seem to be beyond the possibility of our day and age. But since it has not been so, man is arising to make it so. At least our government is making an outward attempt to eliminate the profits from war, which the Senate Investigation carried on by Senator Nye has been revealing to the world.

The Christian world is beginning to feel that we no longer should train our boys and girls to kill their fellow man. In some cases the state feels that such training is necessary, and the issue as to whether the State or God shall be the ruler of our conscience and our lives is alive today. There are several contests going on within our courts at the present time that will have a great effect upon the peace movement. The most notable cases are perhaps those of Mrs. Schenerhorn and of Professor Macintosh. Be the outcome of these court decisions what it may, peace the world must have, and peace the world will have.

In the "Christian Century" for January 9, 1935 Kirby Page points out the brighter highlights of our dawning peace conscience. He says, "A revolution in thought is now sweeping through the ranks of religious leaders. In countless conferences with ministers across the continent, I have had occasion to contrast



the prevailing trend in attitude toward war with the hysteria and passion which continued long after the armistice had been signed. Testimony to this change of mind may be found in resolutions passed by various assemblies and conventions. . . . . The opinions of the delegates assembled are not always truly in advance of laymen on such questions. Nevertheless, these indictments of war are straws which indicate prevailing currents and are preludes to action."

Further on he speaks of a 1934 Armistice day message that was signed by 300 outstanding American Churchmen, including 60 bishops, saying; "The time has come when organized religion must proclaim that never again shall war be waged under the sanction of the Church. . . . With the ruins of the last war piled high at its feet the Church should solemnly declare herself the implacable enemy of war. . . . . We have had in our generation an appalling revelation of the true nature of war. War is not what it was. When science added the airplane, the submarine, and poison gas, warfare entered on a new stage. With the advent of poison gas and bacteriological germs it laid aside the last vestige of decency. War has always been bloody and brutal. It is now an atrocity. . . . . Modern war is suicide. The sword is so sharp that a nation can cut not only the throats of its neighbors but its own also. Civilization itself is in jeopardy.' Thus say 60 bishops! No wonder therefore that Bishop Oldham sums the whole matter up in this vivid language: 'No one has yet had the temerity to dress Him (Christ) in khaki and arm Him with a bayonet or hand grenade. Such would be the ultimate blasphemy,



and this is the final and unanswerable argument. War is wrong not only because of its horrors but because it is the exact opposite of Christ's way. . . . War is the antithesis of Christ's method, is contrary to His will, is incompatible with His teaching and example. In short, war is sin-- hateful to God and abhorrent to every Christian conscience. As with murder, rape, thievery, lying, the Christian must do everything in his power to wipe war off the face of the earth." 1.

The war conscience is dawning again in our day. The heads of the Church were the last to drop the war conscience in fourth and fifth centuries, and they are the first to revive that quickness of Christian conscience in this our twentieth century. Within the lifetime of most readers we have seen the virtually complete and whole-hearted sanction of the Church to a world-wide war. Today we are witnessing the Christian conscience grow to the point where it will no longer sanction the government in its slaughter of human beings.

The dawn of this new Christian peace conscience is breaking on every hand. The following article appeared in a newspaper. "The question of the possible effect of militant Sunday School hymns on American boys and girls was raised today by L.R. Leipold, local superintendent of schools, after a study which he said disclosed an 'astounding' emphasis on martial words and spirit.

"Leipold said examination of a book of 20 hymns in common use in American Sunday Schools revealed 'vocabularies abounding in fighting terms'. The word 'victory' appeared 47 times,

---

1. The Christian Century, January 9, 1935; Article by Kirby Page, "Is War Sin". See Bibliography.





'marching' 36 times, and 'soldiers' 21 times.

"Even the word 'war', he continued, 'is found not less than six times in addition to such terms as 'battle', repeated 16 times, and 'struggle', 'fight', 'fray', and 'conflict'". 1.

Youth and age alike have caught a glimmer of this new light which is rapidly swelling to the full brightness of day. Sentiment is being developed, groups are being educated, and statements of one's pledge and desire for peace are found on every hand. The Young Men's Club of Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York City, has formed the following declaration against war;

"I have quietly considered what I would do if my nation should again be drawn into war.

"I am not taking a pledge, because I do not know what I would do when the heat of the war mood is upon the country. But in a mood of calm consideration I do today declare that I can not reconcile the way of Christ with the practice of war.

"I do therefore set down my name to be kept in the records of my church, so that it will be for me a reminder if war should come; and will be a solemn declaration to those who hold to this conviction in time of war that I believe them to be right; and I do desire with my whole mind and heart that I shall be among those that keep to this belief.

"I set down my name to make concrete my present thought upon the question of war, and declare my purpose to think and talk with others about it, that my belief in the way of Christ

---

1. Berkeley, Daily Gazette; -- Montgomery, Minn., Dec. 8, 1934 (AP)



shall become operative in this and in other quetionss which now confuse our thought and action." 1.

"My peace I leave with you", said our Teacher, but we have been long and backward in accepting this peace. We can no longer passively accept peace, we must work for it. We must work and work diligently lest the darkness of war overtake us again ere we have securely brought in the dawn of the new era of peace.

---

1. "The Front Rank" , November 18, 1934. See Bibliography.



## APPENDICES

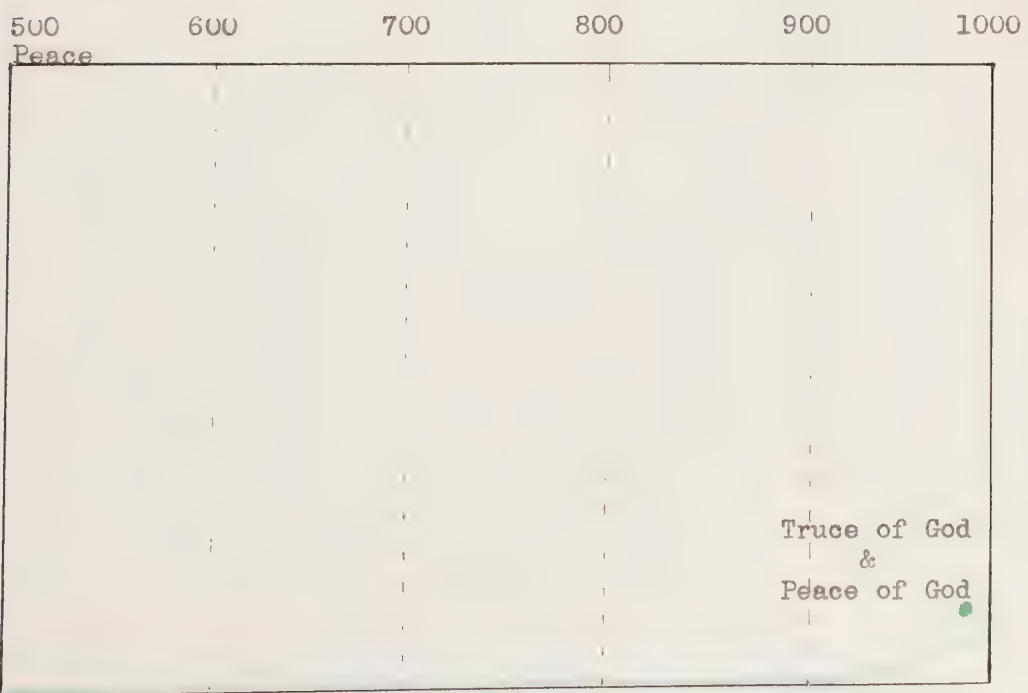
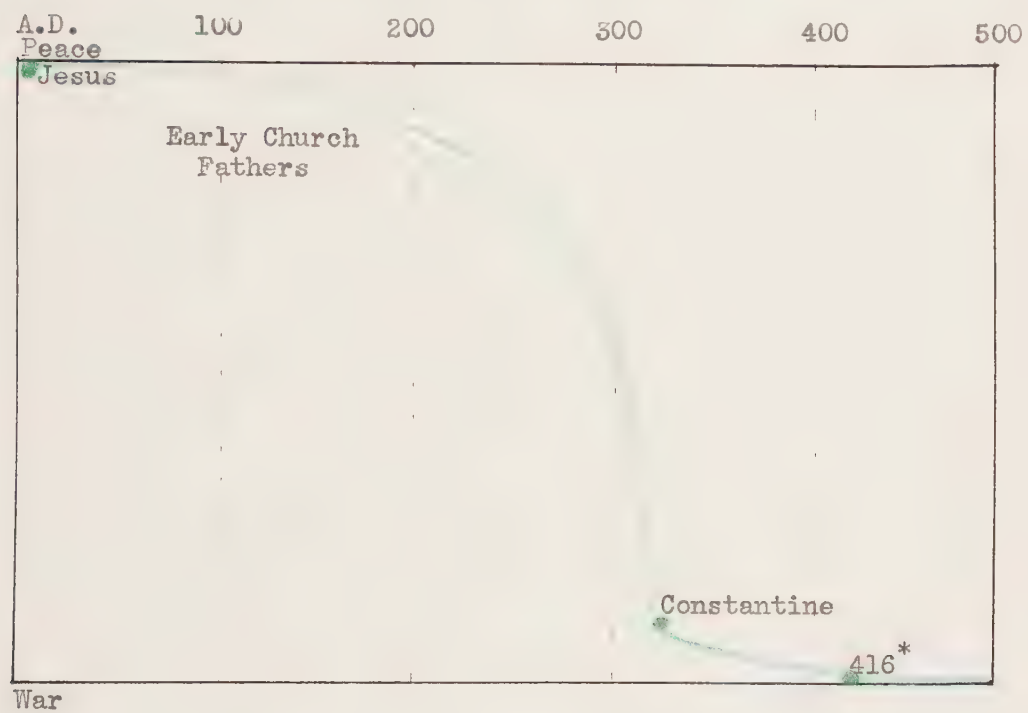




A GRAPH OF PEACE

Legend

- Approximate position of the Church in regards to Peace.
- Approximate position and date of men and events.

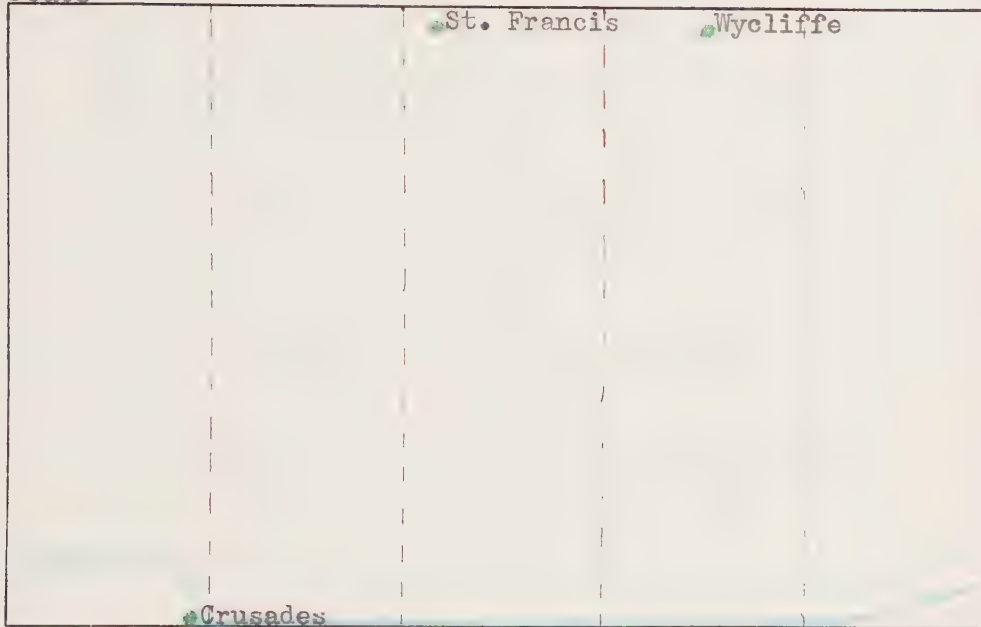


\* None but Christians allowed in the army



1000      1100      1200      1300      1400      1500

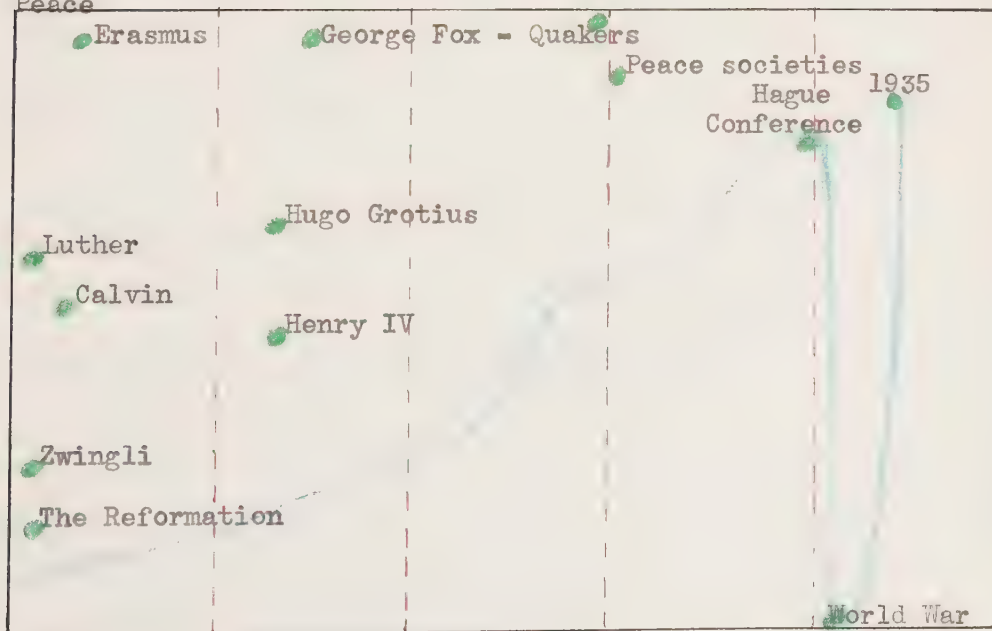
Peace



War

1500      1600      1700      1800      1900      2000

Peace



War



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ante - Nicene Fathers; 10 Volumes. Edited by Alexander Roberts & James Donaldson. American reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Buffalo, N.Y., The Christian Literature Publishing Co. 1885
- Baring -- Gould, S.; Lives of the Saints, 16 Volumes. Edinburgh, John Grant Co. 1914.
- Bosworth, Edward I.; The Life and Teachings of Jesus N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1924
- Bax, E. Belfort; Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists. N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1903
- Beresford, James; Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church. 2 Volumes. N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1920.
- Bingham, J; Antiquities of the Christian Church, 6 Volumes. London, Bohm, 1870
- Bundy, Walter E.; The Religion of Jesus. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1928
- Cadoux, Cecil John; The Early Church and the World Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1925
- Christian Century, The; September 19, 1934.  
Article -- Peace or War.
- Christian Century, The; January 9, 1935.  
Article -- Is War Sin.
- Clark, C. P. S.; Short History of the Christian Church. N.Y. Longmas, Green & Co. 1929.
- Clement, First Epistle of; Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume I, pg 1-21
- Coleman, L; Ancient Christianity Exemplified. Andover, Gould, Newman & Saxton. 1844
- Cox, Samuel H; Quakerism not Christianity. Printed by D. Fonshaw. - Sold by Jonathan Leavitt, N.Y. 1833.
- Dymond, Jonathan; An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War. Philadelphia, Friend's Book Store, 1892
- Eddy, Sherwood; The Abolition of War. N.Y. George H. Doran Co. 1924.





- Emerson, Ralph Waldo; Journals, 10 Volumes. Edited by  
Edward Waldo Emerson & Waldo Emerson Forbes.  
N.Y. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1909 - 1914.
- Emerton, Ephraim; Desiderius Erasmus,  
N.Y. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900.
- Engelmann, L; Political Philosophy -- From Plato to  
Jeremy Bentham. Introductions by Prof. Oscar Jaszi.
- Epistles of Barnabas; Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume I, pg 145-f
- Epistles of Ignatius to the Ephesians; Ante-Nicene Fathers,  
Volume I, pg 55-f.
- Federal Council of Churches; Selected Quotations on Peace  
and War. 1915.
- Fox, George; Edited by, Rufus M. Jones -- An Autobiography.  
Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach, 1906.
- Gilbert, George H.; The Student's Life of Jesus.  
N.Y. Eaton & Mains, 1900.
- Grisar - Hartmann; Martin Luther. Adapted by, Eble, Frank J.,  
Edited by Arthur Preuss. St. Louis, Mo. B. Herder  
Book Co. 1930
- Grubb, Edward; What is Quakerism,  
London, The Swarthmore Press Ltd. 1919.
- Harkness, Georgeia; John Calvin -- The Man and His Ethics.  
N.Y. Henry Holt & Co. 1931
- Hetherington, W. H.; History of the Church of Scotland,  
N.Y. Robert Carter, 1844.
- Holmes, John Haynes; New Wars for Old.  
N.Y. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1916.
- Jackson, Samuel Macauley; Heroes of the Reformation --  
'Desiderius Erasmus'. N.Y. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.
- Jackson, S. M.; Heroes of the Reformation -- Huldreich Zwingli.  
N.Y. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.
- Justinus, First Appology; Ante-Nicene Fathers, Volume I, pg 155-f.
- Lightfoot, J. B.; The Apostolic Fathers, 3 Volumes.  
N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1889
- Mead, Lucia Ames; Law or War,  
N.Y. Doudley, Doran & Co. 1928.



- Morrison, Charles Claton; *The Outlawry of War.*  
Chicago, Willett Clark & Colby. 1927.
- Nagler, Arthur Wilford; *The Church in History*  
N.Y. The Abingdon Press, 1929.
- Nicene & Post-Nicene Fathers. First Series. 14 Volumes.  
Edited by, Philip Schaff. Buffalo, N.Y. The Christian  
Literature Publishing Co. 1886.
- Nicene & Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series. 14 Volumes.  
Edited by Philip Schaff & Henry Wace.  
Buffalo, N.Y. The Christian Literature Publishing Co. 1890.
- Page, Kirby; *National Defense.*  
N.Y. Farrow & Rimehart, Ind. 1931
- Page, Kirby; *War; Its Causes, Consequences & Cure.*  
N.Y. George H. Doran Co. 1923.
- Schweitzer, Albert, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.*  
London. Adam & Charles Black. 1910.
- Sergeant, Lewis; *Heroes of the Reformation -- John Wycliffe.*  
N.Y. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893.
- Simpson, Samuel; *Life of Ulrich Zwingli.* N.Y.  
Barker & Taylor Co. 1902.
- Sharpless, Isaac; *A Quaker Experiment in Government.*  
Philadelphia, Ferris & Leach. 1902
- Stead, F. H.; *The Story of Social Christianity.*  
N.Y. George H. Doran Co. 1924
- Thorndyke, Lynn; *The History of Medieval Europe.*  
N.Y. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1917.
- Tolstoi, Lev Nickolaevich; *War and Peace.*  
N.Y. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1915.
- Troeltsch, Ernest; *The Social Teachings of the Christian Church.* N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1931.
- Trueblood, Benjamin F.; *The Development of the Peace Idea.*  
Norwood, Mass. Plimpton Press. 1932.
- Van Dyke, Henry; *Fighting for Peace.*  
N.Y. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.
- Vaughn, Robert; *Tracts and Treatises of John Wycliffe.*  
London, Blackburn & Pordon. 1845.



White, Arthur Wilford; The Seven Great Statesmen.  
N.Y. The Century Co. 1912.

Williams, Michael; Little Brother St. Francis of Assisi.  
N.Y. The Macmillan Co. 1926,





## INDICES



## INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Exodus

<u>Biblical reference</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Biblical reference</u>	<u>Page</u>
XVII:8-13	32	XL:29	6
		XXII:21	13
		XXII:36-39	5
XXV:42-45	117	XXIII:12	6
XXVII:30-f.	21	XXIV:15-22	8 & 29
		XXVI:52	9

Deuteronomy

XV:7-18	117	<u>Luke</u>	
XXL:18-21	21	III:14	20
		IV:4-8	7
		X:5	131
		X:29-37	5
		XI:17	135
		XIV:28-33	19

I Samuel

IV:3-9	107
--------	-----

Isaiah

II:4	& 22 138
------	-------------

John

XVI:12	15
--------	----

MatthewActs

V:34-35	6	VII:45	32
V:38-48	7	X:36	26
VII:12-f	6	XIII:19	52
VII:21-23	6	XVI:30-34	26
VIII:5-13	10		
X:34-f	18		



## GENERAL INDEX

- Abdul Baha, 174  
 Achatius, 75  
 Africa, 68  
     bischof of, 103  
         north, 137  
 Alabama Claims, 181  
 Alexander, 18  
 Alexander the Great, 124  
 Alexander Severus, 55  
 Alexandria, 48  
     synod of, 103  
 Alexius, emperor, 124  
 Amalek, 32  
 Ambrosius, 97  
 America, 162  
 American peace society, 180, f  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 112  
 Ampelius, 60  
 Anabaptists, 149, 171  
 Anti-Christ, 75  
 Antioch, 124  
 Antipas, 3  
 Apostolic canons, 104  
 Apostolic Fathers, 24  
 Arabia, 113  
 Arabs, 113  
 Arc of the Covenant, 107  
 Arelate, synod of, 97  
 Archelaus, 98  
 Arezzo, town of, 132  
 Augustine, 97, 101, 110  
 Aristides, 38,  
 Arles, synod of, 101  
 Armies, 4  
 Arnobius, 89  
 Asia, Central, 113  
 Athenasius, 97  
 Athenagoras, 39, 42, 46  
 Athenians, 56  
 Augustus, 56  
 Augsбург, diet of, (1531), 144  
 Avars, 113  
  
 Babylon, bishop of, 80  
 Barbarians, 110  
 Barcelona, 114  
 Barnabas, 32  
 Basileides, 49, 50  
  
 Batanaea, 3  
 Bavarians, 113  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 174  
 Berlin, 173  
 Bigelmair, 27  
 bishop, 103, 111, 120, 133  
 bloodshed, 65, 67, 70, 86-89, 91  
     94, 98, 112, 114, 123-126, 141,  
     142, 144, 151  
 Bahaists, 174  
 Boethius, 135  
 Bogoris, 114  
 Bohemia, 141, 172  
 Bologna, 151, 152  
 Bond of Peace, 161, 162  
 Basilus, 98  
 Bosphorus, 124  
 Boston, 180, 181  
 Britanica, 74  
 Brothers of Penance, 133  
 Brown, Captain, 177  
 Bolgaria, 114, 115  
 Burnet, 161  
  
 Caesar, 18, 49, 64, 78, 92  
 Callistus, 45  
 Calvin, John, 148-150, 154,  
     176  
 Caracalla, 60  
 Carnegei, Andrew, 182  
 Cathari, 121, 173  
 Catholics, 156  
 Celerinus, 61  
 centurion, 10-12  
 Celsus, 42, 55, 56, 57  
 Chadedon, fourth Ecumenical  
     synod, 104  
 Charlemagne, 112-114, 116  
 Charles the Great (see  
     Charlemagne)  
 Church, 11, 15, 35, 36, 45, 47, 48, 58  
     60, 64, 65, 70-73, 75, 82, 84, 94-96  
     99-104, 107, 108, 110, 114, 115,  
     118-120, 123, 126, 127, 129, 137,  
     144, 145, 147, 152  
 Church rights,  
     Gallican idea of, 137  
 Cicero, 111  
 Clemens of Alexandera, 48, 49, 51,  
     53, 54, 61  
 Clement of Rome, 31, 32, 35





- Cleopatra, 82-84  
 clergy, 100, 103, 104, 119, 120  
     121, 126  
 Cluny, abbot of, 120  
 Commodianus, 72  
 "Complaint of Peace", 151  
 Constans, 110  
 Constantinople, 124  
 Constantine, 65, 66, 85-87, 96  
     97, 99, 101, 110  
 Cornelius, 26, 43  
 Cromwell's army, 158  
 Crusaders, 111  
 Crusades, 125, 126, 136  
     Childrens' crusade, 126  
     First crusade, 124  
     People's crusade, 124  
     Third crusade, 125  
 Cyprian, 61, 63, 75
- Dalmatia, 114  
 Danes, 113  
 Danube, 113  
 Dante, 122, 134-136  
 Decius, 61, 80, 81  
 'De Cive', 164  
 'De Corona', 61  
 'De Idololatria', 61  
 Denmark, 113  
 Derby, 158  
 Diocletian, 78, 79, 87, 92  
 disciples, 16-19, 67  
 discipleship, 11  
 Dodge, David Low, 180  
 Dymond, Jonathan, 179  
 du Bois, Pierre, 136
- Egypt, 74, 126  
 Egyptian Chirch-Order, 64, 65  
     69, 88, 94, 97, 103-106  
 Else, Bishopric of, 120  
 Embroidered Girdles, 55  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 175-176  
 Emperor, 14, 44, 58, 64, 75  
     worship of, 77, 80, 85  
 England, 141-143, 170, 173,  
     180, 181  
 Epicurus, 47-f  
 Frasmus, 151-152  
 Europe  
 European Diet Parliment of  
     Estates, 166
- Eusebius, 78, 85 - 29
- Familists, 143  
 Family of Love, 142  
 Feuday system, 115-ff  
 fiefs, 117, 118  
 Firmicus Maternus, 110  
 Flanders, 137, 140  
 Florentine, 175  
 Fox, George, 157-160, 170  
 France, 113, 120, 125, 126, 153  
     181  
 Franks, 116  
 Fredrick, Elector, 145  
 Fredrick II, 125  
 French, 151  
 Friars, 139, 140  
 Friends, 157, 163, 166, 170
- Galerius, 78, 87  
 Galilo, 3  
 Gallienus, emperor, 77  
     Edict of, 76  
 Garrison, Wm. Lloyd, 176  
 Gauls, 74, 101  
 Geneva Tribunal, 181  
 German pilgrims, 128  
 Germany, 113, 145  
 Geta, 60  
 Gladiatorial games, 14, 42,  
     45, 47, 69, 70, 93, 94  
 Gladiators, 46  
 Ginn, Edwin, 182  
 Glasglow, archbishop of,  
     161  
 Goodfrey, of Bouillon, 124  
 Golden rule, 6  
 Government, 4, 13  
 Grotius, Hugo, 154-157  
 Great Britan, 109  
 'Great Design', 153  
 Gregorius, 49  
 Gregory of Nazianzus, 98
- Hague Tribunal, 181  
 Harper's Ferry, 177  
 Hartford, Conn., 180  
 Hobbs, 164, 175  
 Hebrews, 20, 21, 50, 53, 116  
 Hendrick, Nicholas, 142  
 Henry II of France, 153  
 Hermas, 45



- Herodes, 10, 11  
 Hilary of Poitiers, 111  
 Hippolytus, 62, 64, 66, 94, 97, 105-106  
     Canons of, 64, 65, 69, 97  
 Hako, king, 109  
 Holland, 154  
 Holophernes, 56  
 Holy Experiment, 163  
 House of Commons, 181  
 Hugo, Victor, 179  
 Hunger strike, 94  
 Hungary, 114, 124  
  
 Idolatry, 13, 37, 43, 64, 65, 67, 69, 88, 94, 108, 111  
 Ignatius, 31, 35  
 Illiberis, Synod of, 77  
 Indians, 163, 168  
 Inferno, see Dante  
 Infidels, 124  
 Innocent I, 104  
 Innocent III, 120  
 International Congress of Religious Liberals, 173  
 International Peace Conference, 181  
 International School of Peace, 182  
 Interparliamentary Union, 181  
 Irenaeus, 48, 51, 53  
 Ireland, 109  
 Islam, 113  
 Italy, 126, 130  
     Clergy of, 120  
 Israel, 11, 107, 156  
  
 Jay, William, 179  
 Jehovah, 156  
 Jesus  
     Apocalyptic teachings, 8, 29  
     centurion, 11-f  
     considering the cost of peace, 19  
     golden rule, 6  
     humility,  
     jail, 15  
     John the Baptist, 21  
     Messianic office, 33, 34  
     political institutions, 14  
     Principles, 5-7  
     prisoners, 15  
     Prisons, 15  
     Religion Of, 34, 43, 127  
     Religion About, 34, 113  
     slavery, 15  
     swords, 9, 16  
     taxes, 13-f  
     temptation of, 7  
     woman taken in adultery, 11  
 Jews, 3, 4, 22, 29, 30, 33-35, 67, 73, 110, 124  
 John the Baptist, 10, 20, 21  
 John, king of England, 125  
 Joshua, 32  
 Judith, 56  
 Julian, the Apostate, 102  
 Julius II, pope, 151, 152  
 Julius Africanus, 55, 59,  
 Julius, 80  
 Justine, 38, 40, 41  
  
 Kant, 175  
 king, counting the cost of battle, 19  
 Knighthood, 128  
 Knights, 128-130, 138  
     Teutonic, 128  
     of the Sword, 110  
  
 Ladd, William, 179  
 Las Casas, 142  
 Law of Nations, 156  
 Law of Nature, 156  
 Lawrence, 81  
 League of Nations, 134  
 Leipold, L.R., 185  
 Lemonnier, Charles, 179  
 Licinus, 82, 86, 98, 101  
 Licio Fulmenta, 44, 59  
 Lactantius, 74, 88, 89, 94  
 Lollards, 141, 172, 173  
 Lombards, 113  
 London, 181  
 Love, 5-7, 14, 15, 18, 23-25, 28, 33, 41, 64, 72, 109, 123, 126, 128, 135, 137, 158, 159  
 Lucianus, 72  
 Lull, Raymond, 137  
 Luther, Martin, 143-146, 147, 176  
 Lyons, city of, 127



- Macintosh, prof., 183  
 Malchus, 62  
 Marcellus, martyr, 91  
 Marcion, 50, ites, 73  
 Marcus Aurelius, 43, 44  
     Prosenes, 60, 70  
 Marinus, 76, 77  
 Marindyna, governor of, 82  
 Martin of Tours, 98, 111  
 Massachusetts Peace society,  
     180  
 Maximanus, 74  
 Maximilianus, 77, 91, 98  
 Melitenian Legion, 85  
 Messiah, 4, 33, 34, 35  
 Messianic, 17, 33, 34, 39, 51  
 Military, 20, 26-29, 33, 35, 36,  
     40, 42, 43, 48-51, 53-55, 58, 64,  
     66-68, 73-77, 85, 87, 88, 90-94,  
     96, 98, 100, 101  
     Officers, 12, 59, 63, 76, 78  
 Milvian bridge, battle of,  
     86  
 Moffatt, 27, 41, 65, 66  
 Moravian, 141, 172, 173  
 Mosaic, 1, 54, 128  
 Mosaism, 22, 30  
 Moses, 21, 32, 53, 127, 98  
 Moslems, 114, 137  
 Mt. Tabor, 82  
 Murray, Sir Robert, 161  
  
 Napoleon, 18  
 Nations, law of, 156  
     League of, 134  
 Nature, law of, 156  
 Nicaea, council of,  
     325 A.D., 101  
     1041, 120  
 Nicholas I, pope, 114  
 Nicholas II, 179  
 New York, 180  
 New Testament, 20, 24-26, 35  
     50  
 Noble Peace Prize, 182  
 North Atlant Coast Fisheries  
     Dispute, 181  
 Norway, 113  
 Numidia, 60, 92  
 Nye, Senator, 183  
  
 Officer, see Military officer  
 Ohio Peace Society, 180  
 Oldham, bishop, 184  
 Old Testament, 20, 21, 32, 33, 35, 39,  
     50, 73, 117, 138, 156, 171  
 Order of the Sword, 128  
 Origen, 48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 66-  
     68  
 Osrhoenes, 59  
  
 Pacific - Pacifism, 16, 30, 42, 50,  
     63, 65, 66, 73, 82, 100, 102, 114, 115,  
     144, 147, 151, 155, 157, 160, 172,  
     173, 176  
 Page, Kirby, 183  
 Papal election, fight of, 112  
 Paris, Tribunal, 181  
 Parliament, 158  
 Paul, 32, 52  
 Pax Romana, 66  
 Peace, 17-19, 24-26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38,  
     40, 49-51, 58, 72, 74-76, 89, 102, 104  
     108, 109, 119, 120, 126, 130, 134, 142  
     160-162, 164, 165  
     Society, 180,  
     of God, 119  
 Pella, in Peraea, 29, 30  
 Peloponnesians, 56  
 Penn, William, 163, 166  
 Pennsylvania, 163  
 Perpetual Peace, 175  
 Persians, 81  
 Peter, 9, 18, 26, 62  
 Peter the Great, 124  
 Phillipian jailer, 26, 36, 43  
 Philippus, 3  
 Philistines, 107  
 Political institutions, 13, 14  
 Prayers, 75  
 Pomerania, 109  
 Pratt, Hodgson, 179  
 Press money, 160  
 Priscillianists, 111  
 Protestants, 156  
 Prussia, 109, 110  
 Potamiaena, maiden, 49, 59  
 Pyrenese, 114  
  
 Quakers, 137, 157, 163, 178





- Ramsay, prof., 66  
 Religion, 13  
 revenge, 7  
 Richard II of England, 141  
 Richard, Henry, 181  
 Rights of War and Peace, 154  
 Robert, 119  
 Roman, 3, 8, 52, 57  
     Army, 3, 4, 13, 29, 44, 60  
     Ascendency on earth, 119  
     Caesar, 118  
     Synod, 104  
 Rome, 4, 44, 121  
 Rouen, archbishop of, 98  
 Ruinart, acts of, 91  
 Russo-Turkish war, 181  
  
 Salvian, 116  
 Sardinia, 110  
 Saxons, Anglo, 113, 116  
 Saxony, 172  
 Scandinavia, 109  
 Scarborough, 170  
 Schenerhorn, Mrs., 183  
 Scotland, 161, 162  
 Seals controversy, 181  
 Seeley, 11  
 Sellar, Richard, 170-171  
 Sepulchre, 125  
 serf, 117-118  
 Sermon on the Mount, 5  
 Siricius, pope, 103  
 slavery, 15  
 slaves, 3  
 Slavoni, see Cathari  
 Slavs, 113  
 Soldiers, 3, 10, 20, 26-29, 36, 37  
     40, 42-45, 48, 49, 53, 60-62, 64  
     66-70, 72-82, 85-87, 90-94, 96  
     98, 102, 104, 107, 108, 114,  
     147, 158, 159  
     Chaplet, 67  
 Song of Roland, 129  
 Spinoza, 165, 175  
 St. Andrew, 81  
 St. Francis Assisi, 127,  
     130-134  
  
 St. Hippolytus, 81  
 St. Luxorius, 81  
 St. Paul, 149  
 St. Polychronius, 80  
 St. Thodore of Heraclea, 82  
 St. Varus, 82-85  
 Stephen, 32  
 Stewart, Charles, 158  
 suicide, 17  
 Sweeden, 113  
 Swegent Holes, 160  
 Swiss people, 147  
 Swiss reformer, see Zwingli  
 Swords, 16-18, 24, 41, 58, 63, 64,  
     76, 78, 79, 82, 90, 111, 113  
     Conversion by, 123, 142  
     Order of, 128  
 Syria, woman of, 82  
  
 Tarachus, 91      Tatianus, 38, 40  
 taxes, 13-f      45  
 Temple police, 3  
 Tertullian, 48, 51-54, 58, 61, 62,  
     64, 67, 88  
 Testament of our Lord, 65, 97,  
     105-106  
 Thebian Legion, 79  
 Theodius Jr., Emperor (379-  
     395), 102, 111  
 Theogenes, of Phrygia, 98  
 Third Order, 133  
 Thirty years War, 156  
 Thundering Legion, see  
     Legio Fulmenta  
 'Tractatus Politicus', 165  
 Truce of God, 120  
 Tolstoi, Leo, 178  
 Turks, 174  
 Typasius  
  
 Urban II, Pope, 137  
  
 vassals, 117, 118  
 Victricius, 98  
 Veturius, 78  
 Virgin Mary, 128



## End of

An historical survey of the attitude of the church  
toward war

## This title was preceded by

A comparative study of the conception of God in Isaiah  
Ben-Amoz and Second Isaiah

## And is continued by

The Christian conception of God

Search by above titles on [archive.org](https://archive.org) to  
continue reading this collection of Pacific  
School of Religion Theses from 1935  
call number Thesis Cage 1935 v.3

